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EDITED BY THE

Rev. Henry Mason Baum

NOVEMBER, 1886

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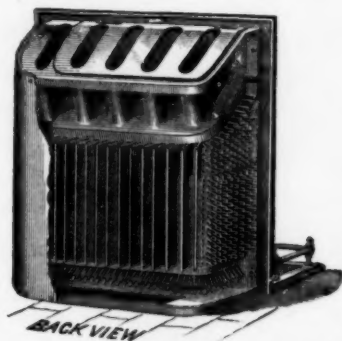
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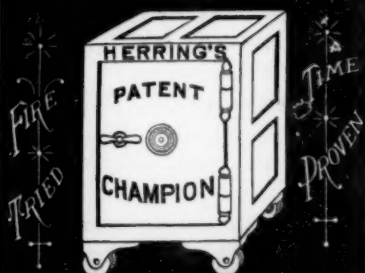
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THE
CHURCH REVIEW

VOL. XLVIII.—NOVEMBER, 1886.—No. CLXVI.

GREEK LITERATURE.

A History of Greek Literature from the Earliest Period to the Death of Demosthenes. By FRANK BYRON JEVONS, M. A., Tutor in the University of Durham. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886.

THE literature of ancient Greece must always occupy a conspicuous and an exceptional position among monuments of human thought and utterance. It is the only literature extant which reflects, phase after phase, the natural development of a race which has left to after ages priceless legacies of political experience, patriotic devotion, as well as of speculative daring and penetration, of a race, too, whose bright career has long since been closed and sealed. All the literatures of Western civilisation have been formed upon the lines and after the model of this literature. In it, too, we see the unfolding of a spontaneous and natural growth in method and manner of expression. There is here no imported stimulus or inspiration apparent at any period, such for instance as changed the character of Roman literature after the time of Cicero, or such as in our own literature, in one generation of writers at least, has diverted the course of our poetry from the general current of national tradition. The poetry, the history, the oratory of Greece, just as much as that sleepless spirit of philosophical inquiry which originated in the Ionian mind, sprang from the soil and clung to the soil; it was autochthonous, in a sense in which no subsequent literature can be so styled. It rose from the depths of the Greek consciousness; it expanded in the air of Greek sentiment, and of Greek religion; it advanced with the progress of Greek politics. It always lay close to the actual life and expe-

rience of the Greek people. Nor does it borrow anything from the language of contemporary races. The Greek tongue is self-contained, and in this it contrasts with the medley of so many modern tongues. The facility with which expression is given to a thousand varied and ever-varying objects of observation and thought, and the exquisite precision of its terms, are not brought about by introducing "scraps from a feast of other languages," but by the supple adaptability of this Protean instrument itself, and the subtle faculty of combination and clearness inherent in the Greek intellect. It is not merely that here first originated the simplest and most exact terms of mental and moral science in its earliest developments, but here we have also the familiar phenomena of external nature, ever fresh and ever enchanting, painted in terms which are the despair of all who would be their imitators in a less elastic speech. The Greek language may be indeed said, in the hands of its masters, to be like the works of Dædalus, endued with motion;* changing itself with every varying object, sensitive to every breath or shade of consciousness; adapting itself to the heights and depths and complexities of every mental mood which seeks expression. It is the closest vesture that has ever been fitted to the human soul, yet seeming less a vesture than a transparent veil, or even the outer surface and integument of the soul of man itself.

In these days it is the fashion to consider most essential to a serious education, those matters of inquiry or knowledge which may be made to take the rank of science,—those subjects, in short, whose facts and phenomena are linked together by a definite law of causation and development or, as the modern term is, evolution.

It is a question whether the study of Greek literature, in contradistinction to the study of Greek grammar and philology, may not profitably be undertaken under these conditions and on this method. Its remains are amply sufficient to warrant the study, and it stands so uniquely complete in typical forms that the thought is suggested that it may be perhaps the only example to which such a method can be applied.

It is true that the oldest works which we have in the Greek tongue are of their kind perfect. The Homeric poems reach the high water mark of epic expression. With regard to these

* Plato, *Euthyph.* pp. 11, 15.

poems it is noticeable that the minstrel received his early inspiration from the enterprise of foreign adventure on the part of a sea-going people. As the materials of the *Iliad* were obtained amid the vicissitudes of foreign war, so the *Odyssey* especially was a recital of romantic adventure, into which the poet weaves, on several occasions, the fairy tales and folk-lore which are the common heritage of every nation. The uncertainty of human effort in conflict with the dangers and treacheries of sea and coast lends animation to every incident, and takes on every page a different shape under the transforming touch of fancy and imagination, whose ray tints and glorifies the grimmest scene, as the sunbeam kindles into a rainbow the irresistible breakers foaming with thunder upon the rocks. On the other hand, the works of Homer may be considered to have served a more serious purpose than that of mere entertainment, and to have satisfied for many years the popular curiosity with regard to the actual incidents of the siege of Troy, the sufferings and exploits of the national heroes of Greece, and their return from Asia. So far Homer was historian as well as poet, and as a historian he was succeeded by Herodotus.

It is a distinct advance not only in literary development, but also in the seriousness and earnestness of a people, when prose takes the place of poetry in recording the events of the past. Yet Herodotus has not shaken himself entirely free from the shackles of literary tradition. He still thinks it necessary to assume a dialect differing from his own, one too which is perhaps the nearest he could choose to the language of epic poetry. His writings are steeped in Homeric phraseology and feeling. But more important still it is to observe that his narrative has more an epic than an historic unity.

Most of his work is taken up with the circumstantial delineation of foreign nations, their greatness and wealth, their customs and religions. Yet all is kept in strict subserviency to the main purpose of the recital. That purpose is the portrayal of the most splendid, perhaps the most significant, struggle that has ever taken place in the theatre of war, — the struggle of civilisation with barbarism, of Europe with Asia, of the Greek with the Persian, in the fifth century before our era.

The details into which the historian goes in relating his travels among foreign people form an elaborate train of preparation for the brilliancy of this climax. It would almost seem

as if he thought that the only way to convey to his readers any idea of the geographical area of the regions described was by proportionate prolixity of narration. He struggles to make those he wrote for intimately acquainted with the peoples and dynasties of Asia on the Ægean, of Egypt, and of Scythia. We sail with him up the Nile in the vast and crowded *baris*; we explore the wonders of Memphis and Elephantine; we see the marble colonnades and green foliage of temple and palace; we take the dimensions of pyramid and reservoir; we listen to the fables of the priests, the scandals and intrigues of their royal court; we enter the hovel of peasantry and artisan, and mingle with them in their holidays or their feasts of ordinance; or, on the other hand, we traverse the wild steppes of the north and enter into the experiences of nomad life, only in order that we may see what were these countries and these peoples who had felt the power of Persia, — that Persia the flower of whose chivalry fled, scattered, like withered leaves, before the galleys of the Greek allies.

The very dissensions and defections among the Greeks themselves lend the dark background, in which more clearly shines off the address and daring of Athenian Themistocles. When the narrative reaches the catastrophe of Salamis the whole previous history of Herodotus lies far away in the background of the picture, as the grot of Calypso, the rock of Scylla, or cave of Polyphemus lie far away to us on reaching that passage which we are told in Plato * always set the blood of the rhapsode into a fever, — that passage where the man of many sufferings and many wiles at last takes his stand in his own hall and suddenly turns the shower of his deadly arrows into the crowd of his astonished foes.

Things had changed when the next historian of Greece arose. When Thucydides sat down to write the history of the war, it was not the triumph but the humiliation of Athens which he had to chronicle. And it was the humiliation of a people who had grown more than ever intoxicated with their own acknowledged ascendancy, and had drunk in too eagerly the adulation which other states loved to lavish on "violet-crowned" Athens.† Yet, as they had grown in knowledge, in freedom, and in letters, so had they also developed in moral sense. Philosophy had come into the agora, into the home and workshop, and

* Plato, *Ion*.

† Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 637.

had asked a reason for everything. Though Socrates had racked the minds, he had also stirred the consciences of his countrymen by his searching and pitiless *elenchus*. In the quiet of the Academy, indeed, men had spent their days in propounding the eternal problems of metaphysics and of the limitations of human knowledge, in spinning out of the gorgeous tissues of fancy an ideal Republic, or a social Utopia; but there was one poet in Athens, perhaps the greatest poet there, who saw with keen glance the faults and follies, and held up with laughing eye the mirror to the face of his countrymen. Never were the airiest, the most enchanting moods of lyric poetry wedded to so complete a mastery of all the resources of ridicule, satire, and invective as in Aristophanes. It is the rapture of Shelley interpenetrating the virulence of Pope. Of this era statesmanship had become the paramount art. The theatre rang with political aphorisms, as politics had already become the topic and the illustration of philosophic debate; for with the vivid consciousness of their own commanding position in Greece came also to the Athenians the inevitable foreboding as to its permanence.*

This ascendancy had passed away when Thucydides began to write. Thucydides has the air of a man who is sick of illusions. He seems to embody the awakened conscience of the nation. In his person the Athenian people seem to sit down deliberately to reflect on the past bitter experience: Who are we? Whence do we come? What were the causes, the secret motives that led to the struggle, and determined its issue? He puts away as mere trifling the weak fatalism of his predecessor, — there is no Adrastus in the *Annals of the Peloponnesian War*. But a tone of deep personal responsibility, of unsparing self-examination, underlies the pregnant phraseology, the manifold, though transparent, concentration of his language. He is no Tacitus, no mere phrase-maker, commenting with the falsetto ring of labored rhetoric on the degradation of his countrymen. There is a higher art than this, a higher art, even, than that of concealing such art as this, — and this is his, — the art that springs from wide and sympathetic penetration, moral earnestness, and sheer love of truth, each sublimated to a passion, and urged to activity by pure patriotism. Who ever rose from perusing the speeches of this history — “the statesman’s manual,” as Pitt styled it — without a clearer knowledge of men and of affairs?

* Sophocles, *O. T.* 1189-1192.

Who can listen to his tremendous recital of the accumulating disasters, the final catastrophe of the Syracusan expedition, without a pang of pity and grief? In his account of the frightful anarchy of Corcyra, as he analyses the dark and malignant atrocities of that reign of terror, his words seem to falter and to grow incoherent, his page is dimmed, but only as the streets of a sacked city are dimmed with smoke which is fitfully broken by the flash of steel and flame and blood.

In tracing the parallel development of Greek poets after Homer we may remark that the Ionian epic had been intended for recital by wandering rhapsodes or minstrels, and most generally at comparatively small and domestic gatherings.

The Dorians of Peloponnesus cultivated, on the other hand, as their national poetry, the public ode. We still have extant specimens of poetry written after this model in the works of Pindar. The Dorian professed to scorn the life of home, and to sacrifice all domestic feelings to the love of city and race. His very poetry was intended, not for the ears of some one favored object of admiration or passion, not even for the circle of his immediate friends. It was a strain for the market-place and the battle-field. Yet there would seem, again, to be an organic connection, on one side, between this form of poetry and the original Homeric hymn, so called. The god of Sparta was Apollo, as that of Athens was Athene; this diversity probably indicating a radical difference of race in the original inhabitants of Greece.

But lyric poetry had taken another form in the Greek islands of Asia Minor. It had become more what modern lyric poetry is, the expression of individual sentiment and passion, — sometimes love, sometimes gallantry in war, sometimes patriotism. Two conspicuous authors of this personal and subjective poetry flourished in the island of Lesbos. The plastic mobility of Greek literature never threw itself into a more exquisite form than in the verses of Sappho; and we may well believe that these fragments have come down to us by the sheer vitality of their own unlabored and flawless loveliness. Here are, indeed, some utterances of the human breast that "men will not willingly let die." It is scarcely too much to say that they cannot let them die, for they are imperishable. The mind they flash into, the heart they cause to throb, cannot forget, and must needs record them. When once uttered in a literature, thence-

forth they live on in the pages, because they have burnt themselves into the memories of mankind, and will influence, with all the certainty and power of an organic force, every succeeding phase of poetic utterance.

But there was one step more to be taken, and Greece achieved the combination of each preceding type of poetic literature in one consummate whole. This last type was the drama. The epic rhapsody is in the Greek drama, represented by episodes which intervene between each choric ode. These episodes, like the books of Homer, consist of narration, description, and dialogue. Sometimes they assert their kinship with the epic original by the introduction, amid the delicate purity of Attic speech, of an epic or *Æolic* form. Even in the hands of Sophocles the ode of the Greek play never loses its Dorisms; it still rings with a tone of public and political solicitude. The bursts of lyric music which the characters of the play sometimes employ in giving voice to the intensest moods of subjective experience reproduce the Lesbian phase of lyric, and complete the drama as the focus and converging point of every type of the national, poetry.

Such is the main outline of one part of Greek literature, as far as it is detailed in the admirable manual of Mr. Jevons. We commend this work to every young student of Greek. It contains a most clear and comprehensive statement of the extent, connection, and relative importance of every department of the subject. It closes, indeed, with the overthrow of Greek liberty, and the death of Demosthenes.

As Mr. Jevons takes pains to emphasise the oneness of Greek literature and its organic connection during the period of the rise and ascendancy of Greek liberty, he has consistently closed his subject here; though we should have liked to have introduced the young student to the writings of Aristotle, and at least to the works of the pastoral poets. This latter school inaugurated a new type of poetic utterance, and inaugurated it with singular sweetness, sincerity, and power; while the exactness of metrical construction and the perfection within their own limitations to which the Alexandrian poets brought the form of their small but highly wrought productions render these worthy of study, if only for the influence they exercised over the Roman poets of the Augustan age.

The use of some such handbook as Mr. Jevons's would do

much to remove from the study of Greek some of the objections which are hourly being made against it. It would render that study more rational and more interesting. The very style of Xenophon, for instance, betrays the whole secret of his life. A young disciple of Socrates, he learned from his master to withdraw his sympathies from the Athenian democracy. There was a good deal of truth from one point of view in the indictment brought by the Assembly against Socrates as a corrupter of youth, — witness the career of Alcibiades, Critias, and Xenophon. This last left Athens and shunned it, and his style is marked by the Dorisms and other blemishes of pure Attic, which his absence from the metropolis of letters made him liable to contract. And so on in numerous instances. The young student should be allowed to read no work of Greek authorship without being taught exactly its place in the whole field of the literature.

But without venturing to inquire how far the recent opposition to Greek as an instrument of education results from failure in the methods of teaching,* or of learning it, we may fearlessly assert that the motives of this opposition lie deeper than the vexatious treachery of a mind that has perused the *Iliad ad umbilicum*, and ends by forgetting the alphabet of the poem, or the disappointment of realising in after life that Sophocles knew nothing of switches or syndicates.† President Dwight well expressed in his Inaugural Address the wise hope that “*the permanent future of education may find its fountain in the permanent past.*” The fixed and permanent past of Western civilisation in every form of its energy lies recorded in the literature that flourished on either shore of the *Ægean*. The pregnant words of the President of Yale contain the significant implication that fixed and permanent instruments of education presuppose fixed and permanent objects and matter of knowledge. And herein lies the gist of the whole present controversy, and it is idle to close our eyes to it. Is there any fixed standard of literature and literary excellence? Has a type of human greatness in the various relations of life, public and private, been set forward for us? Is there anything in man of the past which can animate, guide, and inspire man of the present and of the future? Or are we to be left to our own opinions, our own self-made standards? In a

* See Inaugural Address of President Dwight, 1886.

† See *A College Fetish*, by Charles F. Adams.

word, is knowledge nothing and opinion everything? It is the old controversy worn threadbare under the planes of Academus, and now revived in an analogous shape under the elms of the New Atlantis. Man is changed and is changing, and with man, mind is changed. The cry is not "man is the measure of all," but "the man of the moment is the measure of all." The knowledge of truth is thus becoming a mere arbitrary process of election. You may take as your typical man Paul, or the last drivelling hero of Bohemian fiction, — say of the French Realistic School. The present demands that you should adjust your theory of moral responsibility in accordance with the last discovery which has been cut by the scalpel from the tissues of a living rabbit, — or hold your judgment in suspense until the last rabbit has been impaled and eviscerated. There is some danger that every old religion which has been newly unearthed, garbled, and vamped up in the guise of a sham poem by some professional journalist may claim to supplant the doctrine of redemption.

Is it surprising that we should ask some attention for a literature whose types of character, so balanced, so majestic, so consistent, are fixed; a literature which, according to its own standard, and what has long been the standard of our race, is moral, beautiful, and true? Mankind to-day is just what mankind was twenty-two hundred years ago, at least in all essential attributes. Our knowledge here has been cast into a permanent group of images and concepts the brightest, the wisest, the most hopeful the race has ever formulated, and these, once acknowledged as authentic, have become current ever since by the assent of succeeding generations so as to have reached something like the positive authority of scientific fact.

W. EPIPHANIUS WILSON.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH AND ITS NAME.

Debates of the General Conventions of 1877, 1883.

PART I.

THE time has come when the question of the name of the Church in the United States can be calmly and intelligently discussed, without awakening party spirit or arousing any intensity of indignation in the mind of any one. It was not always so, and the rapid and great change in the general feeling on the subject is really a phenomenon.

It was less than nine years ago when the General Convention at Boston gave such an emphatic vote against any change of name that it seemed as if the project had scarcely a friend in the Church, and could not again be brought even to the stage of being seriously proposed in that body, unless after a long period and vigorous preliminary advocacy in the press.

Let us briefly recall the action of that year, in order to see how emphatic was the verdict. Early in the session Dr. De Koven presented a memorial from the Diocese of Wisconsin as to a change of name, and Mr. McIlwain presented resolutions of the Diocese of Iowa on the same subject. These were sent to the appropriate committee, which, after brief consideration, reported adversely to any change. On the sixteenth day the report was reached in its order, and was evidently to be sustained by a large majority, but the proposition seemed to have driven some of the ultra-conservative brethren to passionate extremes; they were not willing that it should be swiftly voted down by the great majority which they were conscious of controlling, but they determined to bury it so completely, if possible, that it could never be resurrected, and at the same time to hold up to opprobrium the few who had such courage of conviction as to dare to "vote as they prayed," and thus to frighten others from similar offending in the future; and accordingly they demanded a vote by Dioceses and Orders. So the long

roll was called, and out of that great body, clerical and lay, *only three members* were found who voted "No." They were Doctors De Koven and Cole of Wisconsin, and the Rev. G. H. Hunt of Alabama. It required a moral courage to cast those votes against the otherwise unanimous voice of that Convention. Humanly speaking, the subject was finally set at rest.

But this was not a matter where human prejudices were to rule forever. "Man proposes, but GOD disposes." Just six years passed, and the General Convention was in session in Philadelphia. On the ninth day of October, 1883, under an order previously made, the consideration of the proposed Revision of the Prayer-Book commenced. Naturally, the first subject to come up was the title-page, and as to this no discussion was expected. Suddenly Mr. Judd of Illinois arose and moved to strike out the words "Protestant Episcopal" and insert "Holy Catholic." It was evidently without any consultation, and took the Convention by surprise. Down to that moment there had been no manifestation within the six years that any change had come over the mind of the Church since 1877. No one, except as GOD had moved his own heart, knew that there was a change in the opinion of any single man. Not a pamphlet had been printed, not a speech made, not a communication had been written, not an editorial had appeared on the subject during all that time. No human influence had acted on any man's judgment. So far as I am aware, there had been no conversation even on the matter. I do know that when the first layman rose to speak on the question, from an overwhelming sense of duty and responsibility to GOD, it was with the full belief that not a dozen members coincided in his views, and that he was signing his death-warrant so far as future participation in General Church Councils was concerned, by openly advocating a most unpopular cause.

But who that was present can ever forget that scene! How, after a deputy from California had repeated the old platitudes of 1877, and had said, almost with a sneer, that then there were four votes in favor of the change, and possibly now there might be five, his colleague arose and boldly proclaimed that he was willing to be counted as the fifth; and then how, in turn, brethren of every shade of Churchmanship, including that most "Protestant" of Low Churchmen, Dr. McNamara of Nebraska, solemnly announced their belief in the necessity for a proper name for the Church, in order that it should effectively do its LORD'S

work ; until the debate culminated in the wonderful sight of *over a hundred* deputies rising, undaunted, to signify their support of the amended motion of Mr. Roberts of New Hampshire, to strike out the words "Protestant Episcopal" from the title-page. No record of that vote is to be found in the Journal, the chairman declining to have a count made when it was evidently so large ; but it certainly exceeded one hundred. Next morning, when an official vote was had at the opening of the session, when but little more than half the members were present, the vote stood 73 to 170, equivalent to 113 in a full house.

Well might one exclaim, "What hath God wrought !" for such a vote seemed little short of a miracle. Remembering how conservative is the whole habit of thought in our Church as to any changes, however trivial ; that clergymen are but human, and naturally from prudential motives do not wish to array themselves against any general current of opinion ; that there was the certain knowledge that we were a minority, and the belief that we were a very small minority of the body, which was sure to influence the timid, it was a real miracle ; for it showed how the HOLY SPIRIT had personally acted in secret on the hearts and minds of so many among the leaders in the Church.

That vote fairly brought the subject before the Church, as open for discussion. The day of smothering it in committee or by meaningless reports of "inexpedient ;" the day of suggested or expressed obloquy to its adherents, as if its support were a sort of heresy or treason ; the day of sneers from that complacent, false conservatism which generally means nothing but mental laziness or inability to grapple with an unaccustomed idea, was over. Henceforth the Church's name, like any other attribute or instrumentality of merely human invention, was to be discussed on the broad lines of common sense, and of proper expediency, as an aid or a hindrance in the carrying on of her great work. Henceforth a change was not to be condemned without a hearing, on mere party grounds, by any school of thought ; for men of all former divisions had avowed themselves as among its supporters. Henceforth, in short, the subject could be approached by each Churchman on its merits, without prejudice or passion, but with a sincere desire to do that which is to conduce most to the glory of God and the salvation of man.

This may not seem like much of an advance. Now, in the

atmosphere of more liberal thought, one is apt to think it strange that it was not always so. For, to count by the old lines, the High Churchman would naturally favor a change which would place the Church plainly before men in its proper position as the Catholic Church of America; the Broad Churchman would as naturally desire a name, not that of a narrow sect, but so broad and inclusive as to receive within its fold all in our country who name the Name of CHRIST; and the Low Churchman would of all things desire a name which would boldly meet the arrogant assumptions of the foreign Bishop of Rome and his adherents, and give to the pure Apostolic Church of the United States a vantage-ground from which to expose and defeat the pretensions of that alien power. But yet we have only to go back to 1877, when men denounced the suggested "innovation," to see how much has been gained in even the tolerance of discussion.

Since the rising of those hundred men on that memorable October day showed to the world what had been quietly working — "not with observation" — in the minds of those who love the Church, and gave courage to others boldly to express their views, we have had the suggestive report on the same subject in the House of Bishops, which, while saying what it can for the temporary retention of the present name, yet is simply apologetic in its tone, calling it "a trial to faith and patience," and looks forward trustfully to the early day which "will develop all the external notes of Catholicity which are our rightful heritage;" the temperate yet earnest words of various individual Bishops, including Bishops Coxe, McLaren, and Starkey; able articles by Dr. Staunton, Dr. Langdon, Dr. Camp, Dr. Egar, etc.; and a multitude of more brief editorials and communications in the Church press. If any one does not clearly discern in all this the presence and action of the HOLY SPIRIT, governing and guiding the mind of the Church, then surely he must be of those who deny any providential influences in the affairs of men, or who forget the promise of the Master to be with the Church "always, even unto the end of the world."

The subject being thus providentially "open for discussion" before the Church, and the cessation of passionate and intolerant opposition to a change having opened the way for a calm and reasonable consideration, I beg to present some practical views of the subject from a layman's standpoint, with no claim

to that theological knowledge which is to be expected in clergymen, but simply with the earnestness of the average Christian layman, who believes that everything should be subordinated to the evangelising of the whole people, and the speedy bringing of the day when, "at the Name of JESUS, every knee should bow, and every tongue confess that He is LORD, to the glory of God the Father."

In the first place, then, I recognise fully that a "change for the sake of change" would not only be a useless act, but a most wanton and wicked one, as causing needless pain and distress to the hearts of some of God's people. For almost a century the Catholic Church in this country has been named the "Protestant Episcopal Church." While seldom so called except in official language, yet the "Episcopal Church" has been a usual and revered name in many parts of our land. As the name used by our fathers and grandfathers, as that by which they knew and loved her, as hallowed by the devoted lives and saintly deaths of many who have gone before us, this name is naturally and properly dear to the hearts and rooted in the memories and affections of thousands of earnest Churchmen. To make any change would cause a sense of pain, a pang of regret, a feeling almost as if a link were broken between ourselves and the past, which would affect many, and especially the old. As we lose earthly friends, we naturally cling more closely to the one enduring thing that is among us, — the Church of the living GOD; and every association with it, even to its name, is dearly cherished. So that no change should be made from mere fancy; none to secure a name more euphonious, more beautiful, or even more appropriate, if no great benefit is thereby to be gained. Nay, I would go farther still than this, as a practical layman, and say that even if the present name were admitted to be unfortunate and incongruous, and theologically a misnomer and indefensible, yet, unless it is evidently an actual hindrance to Church progress, and a stumbling-block and obstacle to those who would otherwise enter the kingdom of God, it would be better to leave it as it is.

But experience with all sorts and conditions of men, of various nationalities and antecedents, in almost every section of the country, has led me most thoroughly and earnestly to believe that the retention of the present name is a terrible drawback to the progress and development of the Church; that it is a hin-

drance which keeps from us not only individuals, but whole sects and communities of Christians ; that so long as it continues it is a fatal obstacle to Church unity in the United States ; and, worse than all, that it is the cause of multitudes — I think we may say millions — living in practical infidelity, without the pale of Christianity, who might otherwise be brought within the fold, and under the direct influences of the Gospel.

So believing, I think, with all earnestness, that the most important work of the American Church, in preparing for her second century of Christian labor, — in marshalling her forces as soldiers of the Cross for the subjugation of the whole nation to the dominion of CHRIST as "LORD of all," — is not in the amassing of money, or the erection of churches, or the increase of her ministry, or the spread of her episcopate, important and vital as all these things are, but to *start right* by the adoption of her true name, and the unfurling of her lawful banner, which will bring all these other blessings as certain consequences.

Before proceeding to the reasons for this belief, let us examine the objections which have been urged to any change of name, in order to see whether any insurmountable obstacle really exists to its accomplishment, or whether it will bring with it such grave disadvantages as would more than counterbalance the benefits which we believe it will secure.

OBJECTIONS.

I. The principal point dwelt upon by the opponents of a change is that our fathers chose the present name ; that they were men of great learning, piety, and wisdom ; and that it would not only be unbecoming in us to alter what they established, but that the fact of their having selected it proves that it is the best possible title. "When our wise and good forefathers gave a name to the Church, it was done with a purpose," said one deputy in 1883.

Now a very little acquaintance with history will inform us that there was very little "purpose" about the matter ; that the name was more of an accident than anything else. It never seems to have been the subject of any serious consideration or discussion anywhere. When Churchmen ceased, by reason of the severance of the United States from Great Britain, to be appropriately called members of "The Church of England," or

sought to avoid the prejudices which that name excited, they seem to have been usually called "Episcopalians," and their Church "Episcopal;" this being very natural, as the most obvious distinction, to the popular view, between them and other Christians was their adherence to episcopacy; and in the early days after the treaty of peace, when their thoughts and conversation were specially turned to the obtaining of a resident episcopate, this point was particularly prominent.

In Connecticut, however, even this much of a sectarian designation was avoided, as the "Communication of the Clergy of Connecticut to the Archbishop of York," asking for the consecration of Dr. Seabury, and dated April 21, 1783, calls the clergy "The Clergy of Connecticut," and in both of its references to our Church at large, mentions it as "The Church in America," using no other title. About the same time, Dr. Jarvis, in his well-known letter to Dr. White, of March 25, 1783, uses the term "American Church" exclusively, when speaking of what had formerly been the Church of England in the Colonies.

Generally, however, the designation of "Episcopal" was used. Thus the testimonial of Doctors Leaming, Inglis, and Moore, relative to Dr. Seabury, and their letter to the Archbishop of York (dated April 21 and May 24, 1783, respectively), speak of the "Episcopal Church" and the "Episcopal Clergy" as if these were the terms then commonly employed.

In Pennsylvania the first steps looking towards an organisation of the Church were taken March 29, 1784, being initiated by Dr. White. Meetings were held, and a circular sent to all clergymen and vestries in the State, resulting in the first Diocesan Convention, which was held May 24, 1784. Throughout all these proceedings, the Church was designated as the "Episcopal Church." Soon after, September 8, 1784, a meeting of the clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island was held at Boston. This also used the same expression, "Episcopal Church."

The first assembly that was in any sense general was that held at New Brunswick, May 11, 1784, on the occasion of the meeting of the "Corporation for the Relief of Widows," etc. At this, both clergy and laity of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were present, and in the proceedings the term "Episcopal Church" is used frequently and exclusively; and in the letters relating to this meeting, both preceding it and sub-

sequent, the same name is always employed. Growing out of this assemblage came the meeting of the first body that can properly be called a General Convention, which convened in New York on the 6th of the ensuing October, pursuant to invitations sent out from the New Brunswick Conference. At this, deputies were present from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, and Maryland, in addition to New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, being eight States in all. In their proceedings the name "Episcopal Church" is uniformly used, whether for the American Church at large, or in a particular locality. Thus the first two of the Articles adopted, which lie at the foundation of the proposed new organisation, were as follows :—

Art. I. That there shall be a General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

Art. II. That the Episcopal Church in each State send deputies to the Convention consisting of clergy and laity.

The only place where the word "Protestant" was used in the designation of the Church, down to that time, appears to be Maryland. Bishop McLaren recalls that the Rev. J. J. Wilmer stated in a letter dated May 26, 1810, that in a Convention of Maryland clergy held November 9, 1780, he moved "that the Church of England as heretofore so known in this Province be now called the Protestant Episcopal Church; and it was so adopted." But the Bishop adds that it is evident that the resolution was considered of little weight, as before three years had passed (during which American independence had been acknowledged) these same clergy, in presenting to the Bishop of London the name of Rev. W. Smith, D. D., as that of a proper person to be consecrated, called themselves "the clergy of the Church of England" (August, 1783). The words "Protestant Episcopal" appear again in the records of a meeting of Maryland clergymen held in that month (August 13, 1783), where Dr. Smith was the ruling spirit; and their use was continued at the Annapolis meeting of June 22, 1784, though in the body of the petition presented by that body to the General Assembly of the State, and in the proceedings of the latter thereon, it is called the "Episcopal Church." If the word "Protestant" was prefixed with any careful thought or intention, it may well be concluded that it was to disarm threatened opposition to any kind of episcopacy, as the principal business of that Conven-

tion was the adoption of "A Declaration of certain fundamental rights and privileges of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland," the special object of which was to defend the right of the Church to exist *at all*. This was perhaps the more necessary, as only a short time before the Legislature of that State had proposed to enact laws providing for the organisation of a Church in Maryland, and for the appointment of "ordainers to the ministry!"

A year later, when the "General Convention of the Episcopal Church" met at Philadelphia on the day fixed by the Convention of 1784, and an Ecclesiastical Constitution was formed, the name "Protestant Episcopal" was used. Not a word is found in the Journal as to this change of name; nor does Bishop White in his Memoirs, or any contemporaneous writer, refer to it at all. It seems to have attracted no attention and caused no comment. Dr. Smith, who was accustomed to the new name in his own State, was a leading spirit in the Convention, and a member of the Committee which reported the Constitution; and very likely penned the draft of the latter. It is at least doubtful whether any one observed the change at all. If it was intentional, it was probably made for the same prudential reasons which no doubt influenced the Maryland clergy in their assumption of the same name: to disarm criticism, avoid opposition and prejudice, and obtain a peaceable foothold among the religious bodies of the country.

It may be remarked here that the official assumption of the name "Protestant Episcopal" in 1785 made no difference in the names by which the Church was ordinarily called by both clergy and people, whether in conversation or in written composition. Four years afterwards, in so formal a document as the union of the New England churches with the General Convention, Bishop Seabury signed himself [October 2, 1789] as "Bishop of the *Episcopal* Church in Connecticut." And if we may take the saintly Bishop White, "the wise master-builder," as a criterion, — and surely none can object to his being a safe example of the custom among the moderate men of the Church in his generation, — we will find that he uniformly uses the expressions "Episcopal Church," "Episcopal Church in America," "The Church," "The Church in the United States," or "The American Church." In the whole course of his *Memoirs of the Church*, including all the "Additional Statements" and

Appendix, I have failed to find that this revered man, who for almost half a century stood as the Father of the Church, and himself made much of its early history, ever employed the words "Protestant Episcopal" unless when the official title of the Church was necessarily employed. It is certainly a significant circumstance that in the hundreds of places where our Church is referred to, he never makes use of that name. The "Episcopal Church" is frequently spoken of; but the "American Church" seems his favorite form of expression. As early as in his account of the efforts to obtain English consecration in 1786, he uses this latter name no less than three times in a page and a half; and so continues its constant use to the end of his great work.

This is specially mentioned to relieve the minds of those who may have felt it a kind of disrespect to "our wise and good forefathers" to use the term "American Church" instead of the double-worded one which in some way became an official name one hundred and one years ago.

I have brought together these historic facts in order to show that even among the earliest "Fathers" of the American Church there was no uniformity of expression in speaking of the Church, and so far as any record shows, or any memoir or history suggests, there was no attention paid to the question of name, which was never the subject of a discussion or even of a motion.

At the same time I do not consider this a matter of any real importance. Even if the few men who met in those troublous times to consult over the prospects of their scattered churches had with greatest care discussed the question of the best possible name for the Church in this country to assume under the peculiar circumstances in which it was then placed, and after long consideration, and the weighing of the effect of each suggestion on the prejudices and passions of the community around, had finally formed the composite name of "Protestant Episcopal" as the most desirable that could be adopted to suit the exigencies of that time; that would prove nothing as to its being the best when a century has passed and all the circumstances are altered. The Convention that adopted it was a small body at best, composed of delegates from but seven States (one less than those represented in the Convention of 1784, which had adopted a different name); no State east of

New York was represented, the sturdy Churchmanship of Connecticut and the conservatism and intelligence of Massachusetts were not present, and among the States that were most potent were some of those in which Church principles were most loosely held and least esteemed. There was no Bishop to guide, to counsel, to restrain. Outside of Pennsylvania and Maryland, the total number of clergymen present was but six.

They met at a time when the Church was at its lowest ebb in point of numbers and influence. The colonial system had been destroyed, and nothing had yet been devised to take its place. In Virginia the clergy was reduced from ninety-one to twenty-eight, and in few States were there even a half dozen ministers. It was not only despised for its weakness, but hated on account of its supposed connection with the Tories of the Revolution. In many sections it was looked on as a disloyal body which should not be allowed to be perpetuated. Episcopacy itself was connected with the idea of a State establishment, of arrogance towards the people, and subserviency to the crown of Great Britain. A Bishop, pure and simple, without civil pomp and power attached to his office, was unknown to that generation, and almost unimagined. In short, the feeling towards the Church was one of enmity because it was identified with the country and government which had for seven years been waging a bloody war against the colonists.

Bishop White himself, in his touching dedication of his Memoirs to his brother Bishops, mentions it as the time when "there existed prejudices in our land against the name, and much more against the office, of a Bishop; and when it was doubtful whether any person in that character would be tolerated in the community." It seems strange, to-day, to read that Governors of States, and Legislative Assemblies, had to give certificates or pass resolutions stating that Bishops would not be considered inconsistent with our institutions, as prerequisites to consecration; and yet such was then the case.

It was a time when prudence was of more value than bravery, or even proper self-assertion. It was necessary in the first place to secure, beyond a peradventure, the right to exist, free and untrammelled, in the new States. Everything was to be avoided that could challenge criticism, or provoke ill-will, or foster prejudice. We, who live in a happier day, with assured position, and long after the misapprehensions and prejudices that attended

the introduction of Bishops into America have ceased, can scarcely realise the difficulties that environed the early leaders of the Church on every side. And it would be most unjust to judge them by the standards or the necessities or the changed circumstances of to-day. What was ordinary prudence then would be rank cowardice now ; what then may have been a display of tact in avoiding opposition and prejudice that might have proved almost fatal, now would be a shirking of duty, culpable in the highest degree. No one can read the history of those times, when what have long been the simplest fundamental truths of Church polity were subjects of discussion and difference, without realising the vast difficulties that surrounded the good men who in that "day of small things" laid firmly the foundation of the American Church. In short, to use the words of the Report in the House of Bishops on the subject in 1883, "This name, 'Protestant Episcopal,' was forced upon us by external pressure of circumstances . . . in a time of animosities and revenges," and when "the slightest token of assumption would have proved an additional obstacle in the way of the Church's work and mission."

This brief *résumé* of the circumstances of the adoption of the present name cannot, perhaps, be better concluded than by a further quotation from the Convention address of Bishop McLaren before referred to. It says : —

Perhaps we ought to be thankful for so much of a name as it is. South Carolina wanted no Bishop in her borders. Maryland proposed that Dr. Smith should be an *antistes* ; and so it was not altogether an unheroic act to stand forth before the unfriendly bodies of Christians who dominated affairs in the land at that epoch as an *Episcopal* Church, taking the precaution to meet the other objection by assuring the censorious public that, although it was open to the serious imputation of being *Episcopal*, it was still *Protestant Episcopal*, — only this, and nothing more. But it is not a good name for the Church now and hereafter. It expresses neither her character, her status, nor her mission. The Church glided into it in 1784, and she is gliding out of it in 1884.

II. Other objectors have expressed the fear that a change of name would cause grave legal difficulties, and jeopardise, or perhaps invalidate, rights in property to a disastrous extent. Alarmists have suggested that all the real estate, church buildings, and other property belonging to the Protestant Episco-

pal Church, would be lost if the Church assumed a different name.

Many will remember the summary way in which Chancellor Judd put this question at rest by an apt illustration during the debate in 1883. "Did your wife lose her property when she changed her name in marriage?" he asked. It is not the *name* of an individual or a corporation that owns property, but the person itself. Changes of name by both natural persons and corporations are very frequent; so frequent, indeed, that in many States provision is made for such changes by the courts, instead of requiring an application to the Legislature, as in former times. But such changes do not affect any property rights. Many of our best known and largest financial institutions — banks, trust companies, and insurance companies — have thus changed their names for greater convenience or efficiency in business. And to take an instance quite analogous to our own, all remember the recent changes in the names of the Dutch Reformed Church and German Reformed Church, which we well know did not affect the title to any of the large and valuable property held by those highly respected bodies of Christians. We have ourselves had one experience in this respect which should not be forgotten. Down to the Revolution, the name of our Church was "The Church of England." Every church corporation included those words in its name, and all church property was held by such corporations. After the acknowledgment of Independence, that name was everywhere changed; but, as all are aware, no corporate rights or property titles were affected thereby. In short, this whole matter of "jeopardising property rights" may be dismissed with the single remark that there is nothing in it.

III. Another argument used in the debate of 1883 and elsewhere may be summed up thus: "We are getting along well enough as we are," sometimes put into more reverent form, as "God has been with us and prospered us under our present name," or "Signal tokens of Divine Providence have marked our whole career."

Certainly God has been with us, and we thank Him for the measure of prosperity He has vouchsafed. But did any one suppose, after those gracious words of assurance, "Lo! I am with you alway," that our LORD would give no thought or loving care to His Church as planted on this Western Continent?

It is true that the Church has grown from a weak and unpopular body to her present strength and commanding influence. But the whole nation has prospered, and in proportion to the general increase in population, the growth of the Church is not at all exceptional or phenomenal. We certainly cannot deduce from it that every part of her human machinery is so efficient as to be unchangeable. On the contrary, a trenchant writer has forcibly said that the strongest proof of the overwhelming favor and protection of GOD is in the fact that, notwithstanding the many drawbacks and disadvantages against which she has labored, on account of the imperfections of that machinery, the Church has advanced at all.

While the statistics have much to encourage, yet they are not such as to lead to any vainglory, or to cause us to think that, with greater faithfulness and devotion on the part of the Church, its Master would not have crowned it with far greater results. Almost the only criterion by which to judge of the Church's growth is by the numbers of its clergy, as other statistics are lacking in earlier days. The first list, in 1792, shows 192 clergymen. To-day we have 3,787, not quite twenty times the original number. Meanwhile the total population of the country has increased fifteen fold, showing no very great percentage of increase in the Church over that of the general population.

And if we look at the vast increase in some other Christian bodies, which make no claim even to being more than mere human societies, we will begin to inquire what drawbacks in our past organisation have hindered the growth of the Church, with its Divine authority and Apostolic priesthood, rather than to set up that growth as an argument that all things should continue as they are. Without considering the great Methodist and Baptist bodies, either of them more than four times as numerous as we, there are the Lutherans, who equal us in numbers, though nearly all coming from a foreign land; and a very modern sect (or pair of sects, so kindred that they are reported as one in the census tables, called "Christians" and "Disciples of CHRIST"), confined to only one section of our country, and almost unknown even in name in many of the older States, has pushed itself from an insignificant beginning a few years ago, until its places of worship exceed our own in number! Let us hope that we will hear no more of this argument, according to which the Mormon could prove his religion to be a more es-

pecial object of the favor and love of GOD than any other in the world.

It is one of the most hopeful signs of the times (says the *Churchman* in its opening article for the year) that the serene complacency with which the Church has for some two decades been accustomed to regard her rapid expansion, is now beginning to give place to a more discriminating estimate of what is really being done, and of its startling disproportion to what remains to do.

IV. Still another argument against the proposed change is brought, strangely enough, in the name of modesty and humility. We are told that to assume a name which implies that we are *the* American Church is arrogant and savors of vanity and self-righteousness.

The objection really only displays too much self-consciousness in its authors.

This is not *our* Church. It is GOD's Church, CHRIST's kingdom on earth. We did not make it, we do not own it; we are simply allowed by GOD's providence to be in it for a brief time.

One might as well say that we could not tell of the glory and greatness of GOD Himself, to a heathen man, because He is *our* GOD; and that to suggest that our GOD is better than a pagan idol savors of vanity. As well might we hesitate to praise the brilliancy of the sun, or the beauty of the earth, because we live on this particular planet and receive light and heat from the centre of the solar system.

Through GOD's mercy we have been brought within the fold of the Church. That Church had existed for eighteen centuries before. It will continue to exist centuries after we go hence. We are simply sojourners. If we die to-morrow, it will go on in its blessed work without ceasing. And yet there are persons so sensitive that they say we must not praise GOD's Church, we must not tell of its nature, we must not urge others to enter its fold, we must not even give it its proper name, because all that savors of egotism! I answer that it is the highest degree of egotism to identify one's self so entirely with CHRIST's Church that we feel that praise of the Church is praise of ourselves.

Ah! brethren, we have a duty and a responsibility in this matter. We are not only sojourners, but we are trustees. GOD works through human means. He entrusts His Church to human beings. In this particular time He has entrusted it to

us. It is placed here for the salvation of mankind. If we, through fear or sloth or lack of care, fail to present it before men so that they may recognise it, enter it, and be saved, we are recreant to that trust, and responsible for all who might have been Christians but for our neglect. We have no right to conceal or disguise or selfishly monopolise the provision which GOD has made for man.

The light of His Church was meant to shine, so that every man could see and believe. We have no right, while placed in charge of that light, to put it under a bushel, so that its usefulness is destroyed and its very existence unknown.

It is our duty, with all humbleness of heart, recognising our unworthiness, but at the same time equally recognising our obligations and the sacredness of the trust imposed, to bring to the knowledge of every man around us the existence, the character, and the claims on his allegiance of the Church which CHRIST has established. Let us not shirk this duty under the pretence of a false humility!

These sum up, I believe, all of the arguments that have been presented against a change. As we see, none of them has any force, when examined. There remains the real cause which I think actuates most of the opposition which has any reason at all, to which allusion has before been made, and which is entitled to the most sincere sympathy and respect, — the sacred and tender associations with a time-honored name, and the natural disinclination to disturb them.

But if it be shown that great good will result from the change; that the Church's action will be far more efficient under a more comprehensive and more truly descriptive name; that large bodies and hosts of individuals may thus be reached who now are repelled, or at least not attracted; that a vast increase of energy and enthusiasm, of devotion and self-sacrifice among her own members will result; that the organic unity and brotherhood of all who name the name of CHRIST can by this means be most effectually promoted; that schism can thus be healed, heresy overthrown, infidelity robbed of its strongest arguments, and the indifferent led to an interest in religion; then, surely, no mere sentiment, however cherished, ought to stand in the way.

What right have we to retard the progress of CHRIST's kingdom? what right to jeopardise the salvation even of one single soul, for a sentiment, a fancy, or a preference?

Brethren, let us quit us like men! Many a duty requires the sacrifice of some personal taste or prepossession or feeling; and we conscientiously, though perhaps sorrowfully, perform it. What duty can be so important as that which devolves upon us as the trustees, for a brief day, of CHRIST's Church in the United States? With its welfare, its action, its progress placed within our power, can we — dare we — hinder or impede them, to gratify a mere preference, however strong, a mere sentiment, however touching?

In another article I propose to give the reasons for a change in the name.

L. BRADFORD PRINCE.

ORIGIN AND COMPOSITION OF THE HEXATEUCH.

An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch. By A. KUENEN, Professor of Theology at Leiden. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

THE interest that the educated and religious portion of the community take in the questions of the authenticity and Divine origin of the Sacred Scriptures is attested by the number of German books, bearing on the wide field of Biblical criticism, which have been translated into English. A large proportion of these books are of a decidedly rationalistic tendency. These latter find many readers among Christian believers, and though sometimes they exert a deleterious influence upon those whose faith is weak, and whose knowledge is imperfect, yet when the vast amount of pure conjecture, the numerous supposed probabilities assumed as facts fully proved, and the unceasing contradictions of men of acknowledged equal ability and learning are taken into account, the humble-minded and devout Christian will find his faith strengthened and his confidence in Divine revelation clearer and more abiding. He who is thoroughly conversant with the Scriptures, not only intellectually but devotionally, will be so fully imbued with the consciousness of the sincerity and uprightness manifested on every page of the Bible, that when he finds the advocates of the destructive criticism, in order to save their theories, logically driven to attribute to the sacred writers a conscious and deliberate deception with a purpose to uphold mere priestly authority, he will be only the more thoroughly convinced, not merely of the error, but of the absurdity of such rationalistic assumptions.

One of the best known of these advocates is A. Kuenen, professor of Theology at Leiden, the first instalment of the second edition of whose *Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Collection of the Books of the Old Testament* has just been put forth as an independent work, under the title placed at the head of this article.

Kuenen's *Inquiry* begins with an introduction consisting of an outline of the history of the criticism of the Pentateuch and the book of *Joshua* during the last quarter of a century. He concedes the mutual disagreement of the assailants of the authenticity of the Pentateuch at the beginning of this period, but he claims that "unanimity" seems now to have been gradually reached on the following points: 1. "The Deuteronomist, a contemporary of Manasseh or Josiah, was the redactor of the Pentateuch and the book of *Joshua*, and it was he that brought them into the form in which they now lie before us." 2. "He interwove or inserted his own laws and narratives into the work of the Jehovist that dated from the eighth century B. C., and was therefore about a hundred years old in his time." 3. "To this Jehovist we owe the first four books of the Pentateuch, and the earlier (prædeuteronomic) recension of *Joshua*." 4. "His (the Jehovist's) work was in its turn based upon a still earlier composition — the *Grundschrift*, or *Book of Origins* — which came from the pen of a priest or Levite, and might be referred to the century of Solomon." 5. "Embedded in this *Grundschrift* were still more ancient fragments, some of them Mosaic." 6. "The Jehovist expanded and supplemented the *Grundschrift* with materials drawn in part from tradition and in part from written sources."

After giving a very sketchy and one-sided view of the history of Biblical criticism, in which he "passes over" those who controverted his views, asserting that "they exercised no permanent influence on the criticism of the Hexateuch," he feels obliged to concede, notwithstanding the "unanimity" previously claimed, that "those who dissent from it (his view) may still appeal to names which command universal respect."

The body of the work is devoted to the explication and attempted proof of the above-mentioned six points.

The author first gives a general survey of the contents of the Hexateuch. The main subject is stated to be "The election and settlement of Israel, the people of Jehovah, consecrated to Him and destined for His service." The whole is naturally divided into six parts, the five books commonly attributed to Moses, and the book of *Joshua*, whose close connection with the former the author deems unmistakable.

After this, the testimony of the Hexateuch itself as to its authors is examined, and its general character investigated. The

conclusion reached is "that those who ascribe the Tora in its entirety to Moses, and the book of *Joshua* to the hero whose name it bears, cannot appeal to the testimony of the Hexateuch itself. The Mosaic origin of certain passages in *Exodus* and *Numbers*, and of a great part of *Deuteronomy*, may be supported by such an appeal, but no more than this." Even this concession (as is the case with many assertions in the book) is at once half taken back. "The traditional view which makes Moses and Joshua themselves come forward as witnesses concerning their own achievements and fortunes is not supported by a single trait in the narratives, and is distinctly contradicted by several;" while in another place such passages are ascribed to mere "literary artifice," to give the law the authority of a great name, and to draw away the attention from the real author. As regards the character of the law, "it is still more obvious that the legislation taken as a whole does not answer in any single respect to the expectations raised by the supposed time and circumstances of its promulgation." The author admits that "it is impossible to deny a certain unity to the Hexateuch," and yet claims that it is made up of discordant elements. The comparison of "the several parts" of the legislation "will often reveal important differences, nay, irreconcilable contradictions." In the parallel narratives of the Hexateuch are "mutual contradictions." "The exodus, the wandering, the passage of the Jordan, the settlement in Canaan, as they are described in the Hexateuch, simply could not have happened. We strive in vain to conceive their occurrence as long as we retain the data of the Hexateuch itself." Surely, after such mutually destructive concessions and denials, of which many more instances might be adduced from the author of this *Inquiry*, he ought to have hesitated in refusing to accept the substantially Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, even if the alleged "irreconcilable contradictions" had been fully proved.

The author, having settled to his own satisfaction that "the position that all the laws of the Tora are from a single hand really does not merit refutation," and that the accompanying narratives "to put it in a word are utterly unhistorical," goes on to mark out with more or less definiteness the various parts that have different origins and authors, and that are to be assigned to widely separated periods of time. According to the hypothesis which Kuenen adopts, "the mass of legislative matter

spontaneously splits itself into three groups or collections, while the characteristic employment of the Divine names in *Genesis*, and the opening chapters of *Exodus* indicate the lines upon which the narratives must be united and severed respectively."

The first division of the laws consists of those contained in *Exodus* xx. 23-xxiii. 33, concluding with a hortatory discourse. To this the name of the "Book of the Covenant" is given in the immediately following narrative.

The second division of the laws is contained in the book of Deuteronomy. This collection is expressly asserted to be different from the preceding: "These are the words of the covenant which the LORD commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab, *beside the covenant* which He made with them in Horeb." The exact limits of this second code are uncertain. Kuenen fixes them at *Deuteronomy* iv. 44 to xxvi., or, in a "narrower sense," *Deuteronomy* xii. to xxvi. In this there are, at most, but few exceptional interpolations. "In any case the general character of this second section remains unaffected by any such additions; it is consistent throughout, and distinguishes these laws very clearly from those of the 'Book of the Covenant' on the one hand and those which we have yet to consider on the other."

The third division of the laws contains all the remaining ordinances embraced in *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers*. The "essential homogeneity of this group" is asserted, although they "do not form a closed and well-ordered whole," and even "in some cases contradict each other." To this collection the name of "Priestly Legislation" has been given. "The far greater part of these laws concerns the cultus, the sanctuary and its servants, the sacrifices and festivals, ceremonial cleanliness and purification, and vows; and even where other subjects are dealt with they are treated in reference to these great themes, or the rights and interests of the priests and Levites, or at any rate in the priestly spirit." Kuenen, however, is not ready to accept unreservedly "the absolute unity and community of origin of the whole of this stratum of legislation."

Corresponding with these three divisions of the law are three series of narratives, differing in their origin and character, and severally closely connected with those codes.

In the year 1753 A. D., Jean Astruc, a devout Roman Catholic physician, called attention to the varying usage of the Di-

vine names, and in particular of Elohim and Jehovah, in *Genesis* and *Exodus*. This has formed the starting-point of a theory of diversity of original documents used in the compilation of the narratives of the Pentateuch.

At first all those passages in which the title "Elohim" prevailed were attributed to a single author, or were supposed to be based upon one and the same ancient document. As early as the year 1798, K. D. Ilgen distinguished two Elohist; this opinion, however, received but little favor until Hupfeld brought it forward prominently in 1853 A. D.

The division of the Elohist document into two original writings was based upon diverging parallel accounts, or irreconcilable allusions, relating to the same event.

"The Elohim passages of the first group attach themselves spontaneously, so to speak, to the priestly or ritual legislation." The narratives in *Exodus*, *Numbers*, and *Joshua* have many characteristics in common with those of *Genesis*. In the former as in the latter there are instances of "parallel and at the same time conflicting representations narrated in succession, or worked over into a single whole."

"An unmistakable affinity also exists between the Jehovah sections and the second group of Elohim passages, on the one hand, and the Book of the Covenant on the other." This division of the narratives would thus seem to have not a single but a composite origin. In the book of *Genesis* the title Elohim is frequently used even in non-priestly passages. The sections in which it appears "do not form a well-connected whole; they are but fragments, and moreover, in spite of all they have in common, they do not always breathe the same spirit." Nevertheless, Kuenen concludes that "we must regard them as portions of a single work," apparently for no other reason than that his theory requires it.

The third group of narratives is inseparably connected with the Deuteronomic legislation and kindred with it in form and contents. This connection is generally admitted. Some rationalistic writers even assign the first four chapters of *Deuteronomy* and portions of *Joshua* to the same author as the legislation contained in *Deuteronomy* xii.-xxvi.

Such is the general outline of the supposed original elements of the Hexateuch. Complex as this theory is, it fails to meet all the exigencies of the case. Beside the difficulty of discriminat-

ing precisely between the portions that belong to these several divisions, and of accounting for the unexpected appearance of one of the Divine names in the midst of a passage which should have contained only the other name, there were found many inconsistencies that tended to discredit the whole theory. To remove such discrepancies, it was found necessary to bring in a new hand, a creature purely of the imagination. To him the name of redactor has been given. He it was who brought together and reduced to one whole the various discordant elements of Jewish history and legislation. To his want of skilful manipulation is assigned whatever contradiction, or anachronism, or impossibility, cannot be otherwise accounted for.

The process, however, stops not even here. A succession of redactors was soon found to be necessary, and for them Kuenen makes the necessary provision. "The Redactor, or Redactors, we shall call R, R¹, R², etc., if it should prove necessary to distinguish different periods or stages of their work."

Such clumsy shifts to meet the palpable deficiencies of a theory reminds one forcibly of the old, complex Ptolemaic system of the universe and the piling of cycle upon cycle to make the theoretic position of the heavenly bodies correspond with the fact. Biblical criticism has reached such a stage of complexity and is based upon such a mass of hypothesis and of so-called probabilities, that the critical world has evident need of some Copernicus, who shall sweep away all the cumbrous machinery and bring to view the simplicity and unity of the Divine work in the regeneration of the human race.

Having marked out the general divisions in both the laws and the narratives of the Hexateuch, the author proceeds to discuss them separately.

First of all the priestly elements of the Hexateuch are examined. This division is more clearly and definitely marked than the others, and can therefore be set apart and characterised with the least difficulty. This comprises the greater portion of the Pentateuch, and when disposed of the analysis of the remainder will be rendered the more easy.

The author begins his investigation with a consideration of the narratives of this division. He asserts "we have no difficulty in discovering in certain Elohim passages in *Genesis* the now scattered segments of a systematic work that begins with the creation in six days, followed by a genealogy from Adam to

Noah, describes the deluge and the covenant of Elohim with Noah and his posterity, passes by another genealogy (from Shem to Terah) on to the tribal fathers of Israel, Abram, Isaac, and Jacob, and continues their history down to the death of Jacob in Egypt. All this has come down to us nearly, but not quite, complete." These "scattered segments" consist of numerous short excerpts from *Genesis*, many of them single verses and even half verses, for whose selection no reason can be given sufficient to command the universal assent even of those who accept the same general theory. Notwithstanding the "*unanimity*" which the author claimed at the beginning of his work, he is now compelled to admit that "*differences* of opinion of more or less importance still exist." Yet he claims that *in as far as* this enumeration (*i. e.* of the "scattered segments") coincides with those of Nöldeke, Schrader, Colenso, Kayser, Dillmann, and Wellhausen, or *at any rate the majority* of them, its correctness need not be defended afresh."

The same original "systematic work" is continued in *Exodus*. But when it is attempted to specify the portions of *Exodus* which belong to that document, the same "irreconcilable contradiction" is found in the views of the critics. Kuenen, with perhaps the majority, include *Exodus* vi.-xvi., and also xxv. and the following chapters; but Colenso and others maintain that *Exodus* vi. 2-5 is "the last passage preserved to us of the book" that begins with the first chapter of *Genesis*. The subsequent portions which are assigned to it by many critics Colenso ascribes to a writer who lived many centuries later.

The ground upon which these passages are separated as the priestly elements of the Hexateuch is as follows: "Whenever the subject-matter has given the author of our document an opportunity of revealing himself, he has displayed his lively interest in religious ceremonies and usages, and his great reverence for Aaron, the ancestor of the future priesthood." Insurmountable difficulties, however, compel the author to surmise that some of these portions were "subsequently filled in and expanded," while "the remarkable divergencies of the Greek translation of *Exodus* xxxv.-xl. make us suspect that the final redaction of these chapters was hardly completed—if indeed completed—when that translation was made, *i. e.* about 250 B. C." As if there were not equally remarkable divergencies in the Greek translation of other parts of the Pentateuch which

even the most thorough-going of the rationalists date at the period of the exile, if not earlier.

The book of *Leviticus* next comes under examination. Notwithstanding that it is evidently a single body of "priestly legislation," interrupted by two or three historical episodes intimately connected with the legislation, the critics cannot leave it unmanipulated. The entire book is disjointed and rearranged and relegated to various dates and authors. Difference of language and style, upon which so much positive assertion is built in other parts of the volume under review, now becomes of no importance. The longest one of these *dissecta membra* of *Leviticus*, viz., xvii.-xxvi., "though in general form and substance belonging to P (*i. e.* the priestly legislation), nevertheless differs considerably from the two priestly strata which we have discovered hitherto, and most recently in *Leviticus* i.-xvi. The difference affects the language and general style and occasionally the substance." The whole of *Leviticus* i.-vii. is supposed to have existed as an "independent collection," "gradually accumulated." At what date it arose is not asserted, but it was subsequently introduced into the body of the priestly legislation. Chapters ix. and x., in which the historico-legislative work is resumed from *Exodus* xxix., contains passages that "are evidently later expansions." Hence is laid the foundation of an hypothesis of numerous strata of various ages, and later amplifications and recensions; so that now not only the redactor has to be multiplied indefinitely into R¹, R², R³, etc., but also the priestly legislation is compelled to undergo a like process of minute subdivision into P¹, P², P³, P⁴, etc.

In the book of *Numbers* there is the same uncertainty as to the extent to which the original documents were manipulated, and as to what particular stratum of "priestly legislation" the various subdivisions are to be assigned. To this book the same convenient system of successive fusions and expansions is applied, so that we find represented in it, and even in a single narrative (that concerning Korah), all the various emendations and expanders of the priestly legislation P¹, P², P³, and P⁴.

The book of *Joshua* is a necessary adjunct to the Pentateuch, the establishment of Israel as a chosen people not being complete until their settlement in the land of Canaan. The narratives of this book are supposed to have proceeded from the authors of the priestly legislation, and here too we find different

stages of recension. "Differences between the representation of P² and that of the other sources may well have necessitated transposition or modification. As in all parts of the Pentateuch, so here in *Joshua*, we come upon passages side by side with those from P² which may more properly be assigned to his later followers than to himself."

We have given quite fully the proposed analysis of the priestly code and the accompanying narratives, as it has been conceived and elaborated by Kuenen. This element of the Hexateuch, he thinks, presents the least difficulty, and therefore he undertook its examination first. The very analysis which he presents, however, kept constantly encountering new difficulties, which could be overcome only by the unsupported hypotheses of constantly recurring manipulations by new hands after intervals of many years. When, in unfolding a theory of the origin and growth of the Hexateuch, it becomes necessary to recognise an indefinite number of later authors [R¹, R², R³, R⁴, etc.], "who worked over the older material," and in addition an indefinite number of editors [P¹, P², P³, P⁴, etc.], "who combined independent laws and narratives, having made occasional omissions or modifications," and all this without a shadow of reason except that otherwise the theory would inevitably break down, the whole argument becomes a veritable *reductio ad absurdum*.

The Deuteronomic element of the Hexateuch is next examined. *Deuteronomy* xii.-xxvi. has been "universally accepted as the kernel of the Deuteronomic literature." "Occasionally the suspicion of later interpolations is provoked; but in spite of this it remains quite unmistakable that these chapters as a whole come from *one author*, and constitute a *single* book of law." To this book chapters v.-xi. constitute an introduction. The objections to unity of authorship urged by Wellhausen, Kuenen does not think convincing. The supposition that the introduction was written subsequently to the collection of the laws solves all the difficulties. Thus far Kuenen seems to have been guided by a sober discretion in rejecting unnecessary refinements, and casting aside baseless objections. In the remaining portion of the "Deuteronomic element," however, imagination is given full swing to create numerous successive recensions and interpolations. Chapters i.-v. "are the work of one of the followers of D¹, whom we may designate provisionally as D²." The closing portions of *Deuteronomy* are ascribed to

a "redactor who must, however, as shown by his language, be reckoned amongst the *followers* of D¹." As in the "Priestly legislation," so in this second element of the Hexateuch, various authors at different times have collected, recast, and expanded older codes and narratives, and thus brought them into the form which they now present. Kuenen's conclusion is: "It seems hardly possible to ascribe the Deuteronomic recension to a single author; nor is there anything against our supposing several hands to have been at work on the same lines."

Last in order, the "prophetic" element of the Hexateuch is taken up for consideration. This title is applied to all that remains in the Hexateuch after the priestly and Deuteronomic elements have been removed. The name was suggested by a supposed "relationship between some of the passages in question and the writings of the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries before CHRIST."

This "prophetic element" very clearly forms no literary whole. There are many repetitions, numerous discrepancies, and great differences in language and style. "But it is no less obvious that some of the narratives and pericopes have a common origin; they presuppose one another and agree in language and style." Kuenen confesses that the complete explication of the origin and growth of this prophetic element on the hypothesis of original detached narratives and laws which have been welded together and recast or interwoven with each other "remains at present an unattainable idea." No satisfactory analysis has ever been given. All the numerous attempts have met with insuperable difficulties, and the successive explications have been abandoned almost as soon as they were published to the world. Kuenen, however, clings to the hypothesis and endeavors to place it in the best light. It does not seem to have occurred to him that perhaps the hypothesis itself was at fault, seeing that the keenest and most subtle critics could produce no satisfactory result from its application.

Kuenen considers that the first eleven chapters of *Genesis* undoubtedly contain divergent accounts of the same events and cannot possibly be attributed to one and the same author. He thinks it cannot be clearly determined whether the earlier fragments "have been incorporated by a later author into his own work, or whether they have been welded with the more recent pericopes by a third hand." The same double origin may be

traced in the latter part of *Genesis*. The distinguishing token is that one set of narratives uses Elohim even in non-priestly passages, and the other set Jehovah. In *Exodus*, *Numbers*, and *Joshua*, Kuenen detects "here and there just such a parallelism" between Elohist and Jehovistic sections as he discovered in *Genesis*, but the results of such critical analysis are acknowledged to be "still more scanty and indefinite."

The remainder of the volume under review is devoted to the discussion of the chronology of the various original documents, the numerous editions, and multiplied recensions. The general view of this discussion is summed up in four theses.

1. The '*Prophetic*' narratives of the Hexateuch (JE) were not written to fill in or elaborate the priestly accounts (P), and therefore need not necessarily be subsequent to them.

2. The *Deuteronomic laws* are later than the ordinances incorporated in the '*prophetic*' portions, and in particular later than the laws of the Book of the Covenant.

3. The *Deuteronomic history* consists, in part, of recensions and amplifications of '*prophetic*' narratives, necessarily involving the priority of the latter; in part, of more independent compositions, which, however, still run parallel in almost every case with JE, and are dependent on it.

4. There is no evidence that the Deuteronomist and his followers were acquainted with the priestly laws and narratives.

Kuenen draws attention to certain conclusions which may be drawn from the very statement of these four theses. "There is nothing in theses one and four to determine the relative antiquity of P (the priestly legislation) with respect to JE (the combined narratives of the Jehovisti and the second Elohist) and D (the Deuteronomist). P may be *later* than D and *a fortiori* than JE; but it may also be *contemporary* with one or the other; or it may even be *earlier* than JE and *a fortiori* than D, provided only that for some reason or other it remained unknown to both." To decide between these different possibilities an appeal is made to the Israelitish literature and history.

The result of such an appeal depends largely upon the prepossessions with which one may read the Israelitish literature and history. It is precisely in this field of criticism that the utmost difference of opinion exists. Where one sees similarity of language and style another will discover a wide divergence. Where one, because of an indisputable likeness, contends for

unity of authorship, another sees only the evident tokens of imitation, and separates the documents by intervening centuries. A statement in which one critic perceives an undoubted allusion to an early historical event, another critic will maintain with equal positiveness cannot have reference to any but a very late event. An obscure point of history, where direct testimony is lacking, will be filled out by one theorist in such a way as to favor the position which for any reason he may have adopted; and in quite a different manner by another theorist to meet the exigencies of his differing position. It hardly needed the preliminary assurance of the author that when "the alternative explanations of each parallel" have been duly considered, "in many cases no decided choice can be made amongst them."

In discussing the bearing of the Israelitish literature and history upon the relative age of the various elements of the Hexateuch, Kuenen examines first the prophetic writings; after that the historical books, and finally the poetical; "the antiquity of the first being least doubtful or contested, and that of the last most so." He begins also with the latest author in each class.

First of all it is noted that direct mention of Moses by the prophets occurs in but a very few instances. These, however, are scattered over the whole period of the prophetic literature. Daniel and Malachi alone speak of "Moses as a law-giver." "Deutero-Isaiah knows of him as Israel's leader at the passage of the Red Sea and in the desert; Jeremiah places him by the side of Samuel, as a prophet; Micah, by the side of Aaron and Miriam as Israel's deliverer from Egypt; and finally Hosea evidently refers to him when he ascribes the deliverance from Egypt and the subsequent guidance of the people to a prophet."

Next the author discusses the question whether the prophets before Malachi referred to the Law, though without naming Moses as the law-giver. To this he makes an immediate preliminary reply. "So much is obvious, that they did not regard it as the Divinely sanctioned code to which they and the whole people of Israel were subject. *Not a single trace* of any such view is to be found. *Least of all* did they recognise the authority of the ceremonial injunctions." But this sweeping denial has no sooner been made than the author begins to modify it, and finally absolutely contradicts it. First he excepts *Ezekiel* and certain utterances relative to the Sabbath in *Isaiah* and

Jeremiah. But why? Was not Ezekiel before Malachi, and were not the ordinances concerning the Sabbath a part of the written law? The commands of God given to the Israelites at the time when they came out of Egypt are also so frequently asserted in all the prophets to be of greater obligation than the subsequently appointed ceremonial observances, that it becomes necessary to make a still further modification of the first unqualified assertion. "What they mean by the Tora (or teaching) of JEHOVAH is *not a book of law at all*, but the commandments and exhortations, which JEHOVAH has previously given, or still gives to His people by His interpreters, the priests and prophets." That is, it was merely oral, temporary instruction. This, however, constitutes not the whole extent of the author's tergiversation. Conscious that he might be confronted with passages which not only implied but actually asserted a written law, he finally states: "*In most cases we are to think of oral teaching*, but the existence of *written Tora* also is expressly asserted in one passage of *Hosea*, and rendered highly probable in others. The covenant between JEHOVAH and Israel is also mentioned now and then by some of the prophets and specifically by Jeremiah, in a manner evidently implying that a *written statement* of its conditions was present to the mind of the speaker."

Whether, then, the author meant, by his preliminary categorical reply, that there was no trace of a written law in the early prophets, or that the written law, though noticed, was represented as wanting in Divine sanction, his own words utterly and completely refute his assertions.

The testimony of the historical books is got rid of in an equally characteristic manner. Some of the books, such as *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*, are set down as later than the final redaction of the Hexateuch after the exile, and therefore of course abound in references to both the priestly and the Deuteronomic laws. Other books which cannot be placed at so late a date have undergone various recensions and interpolations. Wherever, then, an undeniable reference to the law occurs in *Kings* or *Samuel* or *Judges* it is, *ipso facto*, a proof that these passages are interpolations of late editors and formed no part of the original. Thus the author declares: "In the books of *Kings repeated reference is made* to the Tora of Moses or of JEHOVAH. There can be no doubt that what is meant is the

Tora which *Deuteronomy* represents Moses as delivering in the Transjordanic region, and *subsequently committing to writing*: the references themselves prove it, and moreover the redactor of *Kings* occupies the position and uses the language of D and his followers. There is *no evidence* of acquaintance with P (the priestly law) *unless it be* 1 *Kings* xviii. 31 [cf. Gen. xxxv. 10] and viii. 1-11, the latter of which passages has evidently *passed through a later recension*. In the books of *Samuel* the Mosaic Tora is *not mentioned* and is *but seldom* made use of; *when it is we see* that the writer is dependent on D. The redactor of *Judges* also attaches himself to D and follows his linguistic usage." In the notes which enter into the details of the criticism we meet constantly as all-sufficient proof such assertions as "The writer of *Kings* *cannot* have written;" "It must be denied to the author of *Kings* and assigned to a later *interpolator*;" "This supposition is *the less hazardous* inasmuch as we are forced to recognise interpolations;" "A trace of *another attempt* to bring the verse into agreement;" etc. On such a sandy foundation does the author rest his conclusion. "We are therefore fully justified in concluding from the survey made in this section that *Deuteronomy* was not known before the last quarter of the seventh century B. C., and that the priestly laws and narratives were still in the nascent stage in Ezekiel's time [592-570 B. C.], and did not exist, in the form in which we now have them, in the Hexateuch, before the time of Ezra and Nehemiah."

The character of the Mosaic ordinances as depicted in the Hexateuch is compared with the legal and ceremonial observances of which we have indications in the historical books. These regulations are arranged under five heads: 1, Holy places; 2, holy persons; 3, holy seasons; 4, religious acts and usages; 5, political and civic life. A careful examination, it is maintained, will show a wide divergence on all these points. To establish this position, resort is had to the same style of criticism already noted. Though the "tabernacle of the testimony" is mentioned in 1 *Samuel* ii. 22, it is rejected as an interpolation because not found in the Septuagint. It is, however, in the Alexandrian MS., though not in the Vatican. When the Aaronic priesthood is distinguished by Ezekiel from the body of the Levites, it is interpreted to have reference to the future, to be a new ordinance of which nothing had been previously

known. The feast of ingathering or tabernacles "was probably for a long time the *only* feast celebrated by the whole people." Yet "we also hear of feasts in the *plural* as early as in the eighth century." An allusion to the Passover in *Isaiah* is "set aside as doubtful."

The various sacred actions, such as sacrifice, Nazarite vows, the devotion to utter destruction (*cherem*), and circumcision, are allowed to have really existed in the period embraced in the historical books, but minute and unimportant differences in their observance or their purpose are claimed as sufficient to invalidate the evidence.

It is conceded that "comparatively few facts testify for or against the existence of the Mosaic ordinances concerning the political and civic life." The passage about the choice of Saul to be king, whose asserted inconsistency with *Deuteronomy* xvii. 14-20 has done duty for so many generations (ever since the time of Celsus and Porphyry in the second and third centuries) as almost the solitary political incongruity, is eked out by Kuenen, not by other facts or even positive assertions, but by the unsupported denial of the relevancy of certain passages that have been adduced to show a knowledge of such ordinances on the part of the writers of the historical books.

The author, having fixed upon the order of the various parts of the Hexateuch, finally discusses the question of the actual date of these different elements.

The Deuteronomic Code was not only promulgated in the eighteenth year of Josiah (621 B. C.) when, while repairing the house of the LORD, "Hilkiah the High Priest found the book of the law in the house of the LORD;" but "there is no room to doubt that the book was written with a view to the use that Hilkiah made of it. It was not by accident but in accordance with the writer's deliberate purpose, that it became the norm and the foundation of Josiah's reformation." That is, a deliberate deception is, without any justification, attributed not only to the king and the High Priest, but also to the contemporaneous author of this part of the book of *Kings*, in that it directly asserts, not that the book was written, but that it was *found* in the house of the LORD, laid aside probably in some unfrequented corner.

The priestly legislation is made to date with Ezra and Nehemiah [444 B. C.], on the ground that when introduced it could

not have been "by a side wind," but "it must have been proclaimed to the people and accepted by them no less than the other," *i. e.*, the Deuteronomic code. "It is not until we come to *Nehemiah* viii.-x. that we find what we want."

The determination of the date of the two elements already discussed involves the inference that the "prophetic" element antedates 621 B. C. The other limit of time is the ninth century B. C. To determine the precise dates of all its sources is "a task beset with no small difficulties." "We must be content, when the circumstances require it, with a more or less vague result." "*Mutual comparison* often yields no definite solution of the question of priority, for the points of difference are sometimes unimportant, or susceptible of more than one explanation." "*References to historical facts* such as might give a clue to the dates of composition are extremely rare in the "prophetic narratives of the Hexateuch." Judged by the *Ethico-religious conceptions*, the various parts of the "prophetic" elements of the Hexateuch are to be dated all along from the times of the Judges to the seventh century B. C.

The general conclusion of the author is as follows: "The *Jehovistic document* was composed in the North-Israelite kingdom within the ninth or quite at the beginning of the eighth century B. C. The *Elohistic document* was written in the same kingdom by an author who was acquainted with J, and who must have lived about 750 B. C." "Both alike were so expanded and recast that in the second half of the seventh century distinctively Judæan editions of J and E had come into existence." "At some later period than 650 B. C. the documents J and E thus supplemented and worked over were combined into a single whole." This later period is set down as before the Babylonian captivity.

The union of these various elements which first existed as independent books constituted the Hexateuch. When and how did this occur? "The redaction of the Hexateuch assumes the form of a continuous diaskene or diorthosis, and the redactor becomes a *collective body*, headed by the scribe who united the independent works into a single whole, but also including the *whole series* of his more or less independent followers;" that is, the Hexateuch continued to receive alterations, emendations, and interpolations down to the time of the Septuagint translation, B. C. 250.

The entire argument of Kuenen and the class of critics to which he belongs is based upon certain assumptions for which he offers no proof. Some of them, indeed, lie outside of the field of Biblical criticism in its proper sense, and fall rather within the province of religious philosophy. But when these assumptions are repudiated by a large proportion of those who have attained eminence in both criticism and philosophy, no writer is authorised in silently adopting those assumptions, and working from them as the foundation of his theories.

The first of these assumptions is that true prophecy and miracles are impossible. Every passage, therefore, which alludes to a specific event must have been written after the event, even though it purports to be a prophecy. This form adopted is only a "literary artifice" to give the appearance of antiquity and add to the authority of the document. Every miraculous narrative must have been at least worked over and manipulated by late writers. Though it may have had a foundation in fact, the original account could have contained nothing that transcended the natural order of events.

The second assumption is that there was a regular development of Israelite laws and ceremonies, from an imperceptible beginning to the full hierarchical theocracy. The only proof of this assumption is that it is possible by rearranging the various parts of the Hexateuch to give to these laws and ceremonies the appearance of having arisen from successive developments in the direction of priestly despotism. But even to do this, such violent dislocations are necessary, such numerous mutual transpositions of even verses and parts of verses from one document to another are needed, and such frequent charges of interpolations of early writings by late emendators, that the assumption is utterly vitiated even from the rationalistic point of view. Surely it must have been a consciousness of this, unacknowledged yet really felt, which drew from the author of the Introduction to Kuenen's work the implied sneer, "Experience had shown that there were scholars who might remain deaf to the claims of such historical considerations as these, who would prefer to think that the so-called *Grundschrift* dropped from the sky some few centuries before any one wanted it, rather than that it grew up in its own historical environment when its hour had come."

The third assumption is that there was a regular progress in religious ideas and consequent moral character in the history of

the Israelites. At first they were "distinguished by their close adhesion to the primitive popular beliefs, and their crudely anthropomorphic representations of the deity." A second phase exhibits them as hostile to heathen practices, a third phase presents the conceptions of the prophets of the eighth century, and finally we find the religious and moral teachings of the great prophets of the seventh century. Granting these distinctions, nothing is plainer, on the very face of Israelite history, than that there was no regular progress in moral and religious observances. Both kings and people were continually falling away from the worship of the true GOD to idolatry, and were continually neglectful of the moral law.

A fourth assumption is that whenever laws were written there must have been at once a universal knowledge of those laws, on the part of all for whom they were intended, and that such laws could not have existed at an earlier period than that at which we first find them noticed in historical records. It is solely on this assumption that *Deuteronomy* is brought down to the time of Josiah, and the priestly legislation to the age of Ezra and Nehemiah. Experience shows, however, that such an assumption is utterly fallacious. Even in this age of universal reading, when the daily newspapers report the doings of legislatures, the people in general are utterly ignorant of the laws of the land. No one who is not a professed lawyer could tell anything about them, except in a very vague and indefinite manner. The Israelite ignorance of laws, when books were few and unattainable and reading and writing rare accomplishments, is a very precarious foundation upon which to build such momentous conclusions. But ought not the scribes at least, when writing historical records, have taken note of these laws? How much of the laws of the land or of the Church do we find in the chronicles of later periods? Even contemporaneous enactments are but briefly and partially noted, while those existing before the commencement of the chronicles are often not even alluded to.

A fifth assumption is that there must be a general observance of the laws so soon as promulgated. But all history is full, not merely of neglect, but of defiance of law in a lawless age; and there is no nation where, even in quiet and peaceable times, laws are not becoming obsolete through a general disuse of their observance.

Even after all these assumptions have been made, there is so

much uncertainty and doubt, so much that is merely probable, so much that is set aside or accounted interpolations; we so frequently meet with such phrases as, "It is extremely improbable," "There is nothing against supposing," "We must be content with a vague result," that we cannot but come to the conclusion that it is not the evidence, but the prepossessions of the author, which leads him to the theory which he adopts.

WILLIAM W. OLSEN.

INVALIDITY OF ROMISH ORDERS.

History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation.

By the Rev. M. CREIGHTON, M. A., Late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. 2 vols. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

THE range of subjects in these volumes suggests an inquiry into the uncertainty of Romish Orders, and the certainty of Anglican Orders. If Papal sanction, previously given, be essential to Episcopal consecration, how does the Roman Church prove the validity of its Orders since the great Schism of 1377-1417, when, for forty years, there were two and sometimes five Popes? But if Papal sanction, previously given, be not essential to Episcopal consecration, why are not Anglican Orders as valid as Roman Orders from the Roman standpoint?

But in the line of descent are not Anglican Orders more certain and valid through the Prelacy, where there has been no break, than those of Rome through the Papacy, where there has been the forty years' break we have mentioned?

The Church of CHRIST planted by the Apostles began with the orders of coequal Bishops; the Bishop of Rome persistently, and with varied success, seeking to be their chief. Bishops were soon found all over the world, in regions never known to the Bishop of Rome and never sent by his means or authority.

By these Bishops, in various parts of the world, the succession from the Apostles was carried on down, independent of the Bishop of Rome. Prelacy is catholic or universal. Papacy, in the sense of official supremacy, is Roman or local. The succession is unbroken in the Prelacy; but broken utterly in the Papacy. The weakness of their argument for the succession is in the twenty-odd Papal schisms. Through the Papacy, from the Roman standpoint, it is impossible to sustain the succession. Through the Prelacy it can be done. Soon, Bishops were

everywhere, in every land. All Christian literature, sacred and profane, speaks of them. The Pope of Rome was a special officer, unknown to the Apostles or the primitive Catholic Church; unacknowledged, except in parts of the Western Empire.

But it is said that our English Bishops were consecrated directly, or with the authority of the Pope of Rome, and that he then had the right to withdraw from our Bishops all Episcopal authority, and excommunicate them from the pale of the Church. But we deny that ordination gives jurisdiction. He who ordains has no exclusive authority over the one ordained. The Bishop of Rome may consecrate all the Bishops in the world, and yet acquire thereby no right to their obedience. Bishops Hopkins, Lee, Kerfoot, Quintard, and others united in consecrating Bishop Cumming; but because they conferred an office which was not their monopoly, but belonged to the whole Church at large, and which they held only in trust from the Apostles, did their act of consecration make Bishop Cumming their servant, and authorise them, severally or jointly, to excommunicate him if he did not obey them? The mere accident of the English Bishops, before the Reformation, having received their orders from the Bishop of Rome, when they could have obtained them as well from any other Bishop or Bishops, did not make them perpetually or at all the ecclesiastical subjects of the Pope. Ordination confers office, but does not impose servitude or jurisdiction. If all Bishops who are consecrated by the consent of the Bishop or Pope of Rome owe obedience to him simply because he sanctions their consecration, then the Bishop or Pope of Rome himself would owe obedience to those who consecrated him, which is inconsistent with his claim of supremacy. The Pope himself is not consecrated. Who could consecrate him?

Again, the Christian Church with its Bishops was in Great Britain before the Roman Catholic clergy went there.* These British and Saxon Bishops refused to obey the Roman authority, and the Bishop of Rome in usurping jurisdiction in England violated a regulation of the Church, that no Bishop should intrude into the Diocese of another Bishop. The ultimate imposition of Papal authority by the force of civil power, an order

* This is admirably worked out in the first sermon of Dr. Cushman in *Doctrine and Duty*.

not known to the Apostles or the early Church, — the constant assertion on the part of the English King of the independence of his people of all dependence on the Pope, thus keeping the authority of the Pope in England a perpetually open question, — all this shows that the peculiar duty of the English Church to the great Catholic Church was to assert its ancient Apostolic freedom at the earliest possible moment.

Papal supremacy was abolished in England by Parliament, 1535. For nineteen years, till 1553, at the accession of Mary, Bishops were consecrated without the sanction of the Pope, and were not afterwards excommunicated by him. After the accession of Elizabeth, 1558, the Papal supremacy, which Mary had restored, was again abolished. From that time for eleven years, to the Bull of Pope Pius V., 1569, excommunicating all who denied the Pope's supremacy, other Bishops were consecrated in England; but it is singular that there was not a single Bishop against whom Pope Pius V. directed his excommunication who had been consecrated under his sanction. By excommunicating Bishops never consecrated under his sanction, he admits the validity of their consecration without his sanction. They were either in or out of office, that is, they were Bishops or they were not Bishops. If they were not Bishops, because they had not first obtained his sanction, then from the standpoint of Rome there was no necessity to excommunicate them. A man cannot be turned out of office who has never been in; but if you proceed to turn a man out of office, of course you admit that he is already in *de facto*; but no one is *de facto* Bishop who is not Bishop *de jure*. So the Pope practically conceded that Bishops might be made without consulting him, when he attempted to turn out those to whom we have alluded. If the English Bishops from whom we derive our Orders were not valid Bishops because not consecrated under his authority, his logical course would have been not to notice them at all.

Indeed, our Anglican Orders, in which no Papal sanction is regarded, stand precisely upon the same ground that all the orders of the world stand since the great Papal Schism of 1377-1417. During that period there was at one time (1409) three contending Popes, Urban VI. at Rome, Clement VII. at Avignon, and Alexander V. England, Germany, and Italy followed Urban; Spain, France, Scotland, and Sicily followed

Clement. Now, when these several Popes for forty years were mutually excommunicating each other, to whom could application have been made for Papal sanction? It will be remembered that, in order to invalidate our Orders, it is said that our Bishops are no Bishops, because not consecrated by Papal sanction. But with that claim and reasoning what becomes of the consecrations under the several Popes during the great Schism? If Urban were Pope, then all the Bishops consecrated in France for forty years during the Papacy of the rivals of Urban are invalid, the succession was forever broken, and there is not a valid Roman Bishop to-day in France or Spain. But if Clement were Pope, then all the consecrations in England, Germany, and Italy were invalid, and there is not now a Romish Bishop of valid Orders in those countries. A Pope that was no Pope could give no valid sanction. Romanists cannot say, with this cloud upon the Papacy, and upon their reasoning, that even Leo XIII. has valid orders.

We claim the succession alone through the sanctions of the Prelacy, which could be everywhere and at all times obtained. But those who insist upon Papal sanction, and thus seek to exclude Anglican Orders for want of Papal sanction, make a claim most fatal to themselves. There could not possibly be a broken link in the Prelacy, for it existed everywhere.

So important was the Episcopal office to the Apostles, that they wisely left it to be obtained in any and every part of the Christian world, exempt from the very contingency which we have seen in the great Papal Schism. Wales perpetuated its Episcopacy for more than five centuries without the least dependence upon the Bishop of Rome, nor when Roman Bishops came to Britain did they re-consecrate the Bishops they found there, or deny their authority.

If the excommunications by Pius V., 1569, of the Bishops consecrated under Elizabeth but not with his sanction, have broken and invalidated our claim ever since, why did not the excommunications by Urban of the fourteenth century, of all consecrated in France and Spain without his sanction, break and forever invalidate their succession? In spiritual matters no time or waiver can cure an act inherently wrong. A thief may be pardoned the punishment of his crime, but this gives him no title to the property stolen. Before the succession under the false Popes (when they have been specially determined upon)

can be shown to be now right and unclouded, it must be shown satisfactorily that an entirely new set of Bishops were sent into France and Spain as missionary ground; that neither mediately or immediately are those now claiming to be Bishops ecclesiastically connected with the Bishops consecrated under the so-called false Popes, if indeed they were false Popes.

In civil succession irregularities may be waived or cured by time and usage; but not so in spiritual matters, and especially according to the Roman way of reasoning. The stream of spiritual grace claimed to flow from the Apostle S. Peter through the Pope by previous intention on his part cannot flow backward; cannot, as the lawyers say, be put *nunc pro tunc*, — now for then. A man claiming to be a Bishop is a Bishop or he is not a Bishop; if not a Bishop he is nothing as such to the Church. Acts in both sacred and secular governments are sometimes valid but irregular. Irregularities may be cured or waived, anathema and excommunication of discipline may be removed, but nothing can help that which is invalid or void *ab initio*.

Now apply this rule. We are asked to show a validly consecrated Episcopacy since the time of Henry VIII. (to name a popular point). We reply by an exhibition of a regular documentary record of consecrations of successive Bishops with the canonical consent of Bishops down to the present moment. Our Roman Catholic brethren reply, Your consecrations are both irregular and invalid, because they were made without the sanction of the Pope, the Apostolic Head of the Church, the only one on Earth with power to continue the ministry of CHRIST's Church. To reply, let me repeat a little. If the consecration of Bishops without the authority of the Pope be void, then the consecrations in France and Spain from the Schism of 1377–1417, sanctioned only by the so-called false Pope Clement VII., were void, and the succession broken. Or the consecrations in England, Germany, and Italy during the same time, sanctioned by Urban VI., whom all the Bishops and Cardinals in France and Spain and other parts said was no Pope, are alike invalid.

But, as at the time of the Great Schism of forty years all Christendom was vehemently divided in opinion as to who was Pope, there being for that time two and sometimes three Bishops claiming to be Pope, it is impossible for any one at this day to

say infallibly which was Pope ; and so no one can infallibly know that application for the consecration of a Bishop was made to the right Pope, and as no one can *know* that the sanction of the right Pope was *given*, so no one can know that any Bishop of the Romish Church is a true Apostolic Bishop in the Church of CHRIST. But if their line can be valid with its consecrations sanctioned by one who was no Pope, but only a Bishop, so can ours.

If Urban were Pope, then the consecrations in Spain and France, who denied his Papacy, were made without Papal, and upon mere Episcopal, sanction, just like ours. If Clement were Pope, then the consecrations in England and Germany and Italy, who denied his Papacy, were made not by Papal, but like ours by mere Episcopal, sanction. So that our consecrations are alike valid with theirs, from our standpoint, while their orders from their standpoint are not valid at all. Both are valid through the Prelacy, and neither are valid through the Papacy.

The breaks in the Papal line are too numerous ; the frequent uncertainty in the thirty-two anti-Popes as to which was Pope from whom ecclesiastical authority could issue, all make it impossible to certify the Apostolic succession through the Papacy.

But in the Episcopacy all is clear. The consent of three Bishops (in case of necessity of one) can authorise the consecration of another Bishop. This consent is at all times, in all places, attainable. There can be no anti-Bishop to interfere.

At no time, since the Apostles, have we, continuing our official succession through the Episcopacy, been at a loss as to whom we should apply for authority for any given consecration or ordination. But for the forty years named, the most devout Roman Catholic, though desirous of having Papal sanction to an Episcopal consecration, could not have known to whom to apply. As two, sometimes three, claimed to be Pope, if one consented, the others anathematised and excommunicated the party consecrated.

W. H. PLATT.

VIEWS OF THE ATONEMENT.

Authorised Report of the Proceedings of the Tenth Congress of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

THE discussion of theological and ecclesiastical topics, under the peculiar conditions of the Church Congress, is, in many respects, of very peculiar interest. It indicates the present drift of sentiment and conviction, the actual beliefs and feelings of the day and time, in the representative speakers giving them expression. The revelation thus afforded may not always be of a gratifying character. It may, however, prove beneficial. The honest ventilation of a doubt, of a positive error, or of a defective view of Divine truth, is often one of the agencies to its removal : sometimes from its advocates, more frequently from others. Truth and light are synonymous. Error brought out into the light is error brought under the neutralising influence of truth. The ultimate result in such case is simply a matter of time. In the very nature of the conflict, that result is insured.

Of course, every such feeling of interest will be intensified as discussion or contest concentrates itself upon one of the central truths, if not the central truth of Christianity. The great heart of Christendom, whether correctly or not, seems to have reached this conclusion. As is a man's view of the atoning work of CHRIST, so is his Christianity. It settles the question of the necessity or not, to sinful man, of the Incarnation, — that of CHRIST's twofold personality, — as of the manner in which His blessings come to the race. It is, therefore, with the profoundest interest that we approach the record of this discussion in the Congress. How does the Episcopal Church, in the persons of her representative thinkers and teachers, hold and expound this doctrine? In some form or other, all accept it; but in what sense?

The first reply to this inquiry, in the opening paper of the

discussion, is that which finds Atonement, reconciliation of man to GOD, in and through the teaching of our blessed LORD ; the manifestation of the Divine, winning man to Him and to GOD, in His words and deeds and life of wisdom and love and death of self-sacrifice. These, — His wonderful works, His wonderful words, His wonderful life, His wonderful Person, the morally demonstrative power of the beauty of holiness, of a life of unstained and spotless innocence, of positive and perfect excellence, — these, as containing a manifestation of the Father, and thus drawing man to the Father, constitute not only the Divine attestation of His mission, but the work of that mission. He thus made satisfaction, not, as some of the early Fathers thought, to the Devil ; not, as the Second and Thirty-first Articles teach, to GOD ; but to man. Man, in his ignorance and error, needs such satisfaction. He needs to be satisfied that GOD wishes him well, really loves him ; that GOD will forgive his sin, if he turn from it. In the provision of CHRIST's instruction, alike by example and by precept, this satisfaction is given — the Atonement is accomplished.

This is argued upon the ground of our LORD's own declarations. First, from the abundance and frequency of those in which He speaks of Himself as Teacher and King of truth, as also of the object and power of this truth to save and sanctify man. Secondly, from the absence or doubtfulness of those which seem to sustain the idea that His death had any special efficacy, beyond that of its exhibition as example. Thirdly, that if such efficacy had been in his death and sacrifice, if these were the central facts of His atoning work, they would and must have occupied a more conspicuous position, and formed a larger share of His instructions.

This conclusion, it is implied as the discussion closes, may not apparently correspond with later Apostolical teaching. Conflict is not distinctly asserted or admitted. But supposing it urged as possible, the teaching of the Apostolic servant, it is maintained, must yield to that of the Master.*

Without just here taking up various questions which emerge under such view, — say, for instance, what, under the law of sufficient cause, the necessity of a Divine Mediator to the re-

* It need scarcely be insisted that any derogation of Apostolic teaching must have like effect upon that of the Master. Under the seal of His commission, and with His assurance of the presence and influence of the Divinely inspiring Paraclete, their teaching comes to us under His attestation.

sult thus described; secondly, how can we reconcile this conclusion with the impression made upon the faith of Christendom, and embodied in its dogmatic and devotional utterances for nearly twenty centuries; thirdly, why so much is made of the death of this witness of the truth, and nothing whatever of that of many others,—it will be sufficient to mention one or two points, in connection with the view thus advocated, which necessitate its modification. Doubtless it exhibits one very important truth of our LORD'S mediatorial work. But it is not the whole truth. The positive part of the discussion is thus of value. The difficulties are with its negatives, its deficiencies.

One of these points, to be borne in mind here, is the assumption that this or any other doctrine, whatever its importance, must be taught, in a certain way, as to quality, or occupy a certain amount of space in quantity, or be found in a certain locality of inspired declaration, to make it authoritative. The analogy of Scripture excludes all such presuppositions. Why is it, for instance, that S. John says nothing of the institution of the LORD'S Supper? Why did S. Luke omit the resurrection of Lazarus? Why Matthew and Mark and John, the parable of the Prodigal Son, or the recalling to life of the son of the widow of Nain? The only reply to these and many like questions is the acknowledgment of ignorance. "What the meaning of these words is," writes Locke, of a certain verse in 1 *Corinthians*,—"what the meaning of these words is, I confess I do not understand." How refreshing to have a commentator come out with such a confession! It is about all that can be said in regard to these and many similar inquiries. Supposing our blessed LORD to have omitted full and elaborate statement and explanation of certain things concerning Himself, which are fully described in the Epistles, could such omission, even supposing no apparent reason for it, have any detractive influence upon Apostolic teaching?

But that reason is apparent. It becomes manifest in view of the peculiar conditions of our LORD'S earthly ministry. He found all classes, friends and enemies alike, preoccupied with a certain view of His work and kingdom. His enemies, embittered by His moral teaching, were still more so by the nature of his kingdom, exhibited in that teaching. Every allusion to His death was unwelcome to his friends—alienated portions

of them ; and those most devoted to him, even the chosen twelve, struggled against the acceptance of it as long as possible. He Himself tells them, at the close of His ministry, that there were many things which they were not able to bear. It was only under the agency of the Paraclete, not only "recalling all things to their remembrance," but "taking of the things of Him, and showing to them their real significance, that would fit them for their work of preaching Him to men. From the very nature of the case, the great event itself, the atoning death of sacrificial suffering must precede all full explanation of its meaning. And yet, with all these reasons for reticence, with all these difficulties in the recipients of His instructions upon that point, we do find, as occasion is presented, that such instruction is given. There is, first of all, for instance, the silently appropriated testimony of the Baptist, afterwards explicitly authenticated, "of the Lamb of God," not merely in meek endurance of suffering, but in vicarious self-sacrifice, "taking away the sin of the world." So, again, to Nicodemus, was a revelation of the Son of Man, not teaching, but "lifted up" in death, as a Giver to man of life: of the "Only Begotten Son, given to save the world from perishing." Not long after, He tells of "the life" which comes through His self-sacrifice ; of "His flesh given for the life of the world ;" of His being "lifted up, to draw all men unto Him ;" of His "laying down His life, of Himself," with this object in view ; of "His blood shed for the remission of sins ;" of the "cup of the New Covenant in His blood shed for man ;" the assumption to Himself of that prophecy of Messiah, suffering for transgressors, He being Himself "reckoned among the transgressors : " the circumstances of the death itself, and the announcement in it that "all was finished ;" the subsequent announcement that it "behoved CHRIST to suffer ;" and this as the subject of Old Testament prophecy "in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms," revealing "One bearing the iniquities of His people." Here are the seminal principles of all Apostolic instruction and preaching. As the blessed SPIRIT, in accordance with His own promise, "took of these things of Him"—these events of His life and work—and showed their full significance, it could be seen that, in His own words, the material of that teaching of the SPIRIT had been anticipated. JESUS the Teacher, thus, in his teaching, reveals Himself as JESUS the Atoning Saviour ; as saving men not

merely from their errors and calamities, but from their sins, and this, preëminently, through His death of suffering, His sacrifice of Himself for the sins of the world. It is the revelation of this, indeed, that gives His and their doctrine its peculiar character.

CHRIST a Saviour by teaching, and man saved by obeying that teaching. Now it is not allowable to hold one accountable for inferences from a doctrine which he does not accept as contained in that doctrine, and yet which are clear to others. But many teachers have the capacity of halting in the middle of a syllogism while their pupils march on logically to the conclusion. If CHRIST's work be only teaching and example, why a CHRIST, a God-man, at all? Does such a work demand an Incarnation of Deity? Was not the simple Humanity of the man JESUS, of Photinus and of Channing, adequate to its accomplishment? We may not positively affirm this, but it seems so. As a matter of fact, the two views seem to be connected. Starting with the assumption of the simple Humanity of JESUS, denying His Divinity, the result has been to make Him only a Teacher. Starting with the assumption that he is only a Teacher, is there no risk of the conclusion, that He is only a man? "Modern Thought," a great deal of which will be ancient nonsense twenty years hence, may well ponder this question.

So, too, as to another question which has its connection with this subject. The Atonement of teaching and example is appropriated, in what manner? By faith, or by obedience? Is it by acceptance and reliance upon the Person and merits of another, or by our own sanctified exertions? We appropriate a Divinely offered sacrifice by faith; we appropriate Divine instruction by obeying it. The character of the Atonement conditions the manner of its reception and application. Is this a gospel, a glad message, to guilty and condemned creatures?

The paper following this includes all that in it is positive, and brings in other things additional. Declining the attempt to formulate the doctrine, the writer finds Atonement a matter to be contemplated, both as a process and as an act. The key to its explanation, in both of these aspects, is in the word "reconciliation."

Christian Atonement, or reconciliation, implies:—

First, primal friendship or unity, followed by alienation.

Second, interposition from above, implying a reconciling process.

Third, a culminating act, securing the result ; and this act, as also the process, involves suffering.

Taking the word "Atonement," therefore, as including both the process and the decisive act, its paramount importance is inferred, as compared with the Incarnation, one of the stages of such process, or as compared with the sacrifice on the cross, the decisive act of that process. Atonement, "at-one-ment," reconciliation, includes these, as it does all the subsequent reconciliative work in the race and in other orders of being. When all are in CHRIST it is finished.

To be consistent, does it not also include all the initiative steps or stages to this result, in the Old Testament, beginning with the first promise of the seed of the woman ?

Doubtless all this may be, and is, contained in the term Mediation. But if Atonement be spread over such an extent of surface, and include in it such a variety of particulars, does it not cease to be, for all practical purposes, a manageable topic of specific discussion ?

To the doctrine thus stated various objections, as sometimes made, are briefly considered.

The ethical difficulty of the suffering of the Innocent One for the guilty. The reply is that the Innocent One bore the burden of sin, not its penalty. Further, that the sufferer, while as a brother representing his human brethren, and suffering for them, also, as a Son, represents the Divine Father, suffering for Him, so as to reveal His Fatherly love and compassion.

What is mostly meant by the "burden," as contrasted with the penalty of sin, repeated by a later speaker in this discussion with hesitating approval, is not very clear. We suppose it means the consequences of sin which innocent beings, identifying themselves with the guilty, cannot avoid suffering. Penalty, as the theological reader is aware, has two significations. One of these is the moral or legal desert of criminality, peculiar to the criminal and not possible to any one else. The other is the incurred consequences of guilt, to the innocent, in view of certain relations to the criminal, or in the effort to relieve him. Taken in the latter of these senses, the word presents no difficulty. If, however, the same idea can be retained or impressed by a less ambiguous word, "burden," or consequence, so much

the better. As to the vicariousness of the sufferings of the Divine Son, or of the God-man for the Father, is there any specific Scripture which justifies its affirmation? The old answer to this ethical difficulty is amply sufficient, — the suffering was voluntary. Originating in the councils of eternity, as an act of Fatherly sacrifice and compassion, it was eternally also no less one of filially concurrent obedience, and of brotherly self-sacrifice.

The answer to the sentimental and historical difficulties need not be dwelt upon. The discussion closes with a statement of some of the strong points of the Atonement, especially as an adaptation to the necessities of human nature. One of these is its revelation of the Divine heart to man; this especially in the Divine work of compassion and love for human deliverance and exultation. The other is that of the deification of unselfishness. This is seen in its efficient cause, the Divine self-sacrifice of the Heavenly Father giving His Son; the primal cause, the great actual sacrifice and suffering on the cross; the final cause, that the redeemed should live to Him and to His work, that is, in lives of unselfish obedience.

Is there not one other lesson in this Atonement emphasised, too, in Scriptural declaration: the sacredness of Divine law, or rather that of holiness and justice of which it is the expression? Why is this manifestation of love and self-sacrifice and suffering necessary? What in man, making it necessary? Not merely his wretchedness, but his sin; not merely his moral alienation, but his judicial condemnation. "GOD was in CHRIST reconciling the world unto Himself." And the same inspired writer tells us that thus in CHRIST and in all His work there was a manifestation of Divine righteousness. The alienation of the two parties reconciled is not that of equals or in which both may be to blame. One is blameless, the other all wrong. It is the alienation, too, between subject and sovereign; of a disobedient child under the law of a Fatherly right as well as Fatherly affection. In other words, there is guilt on one side and justice on the other: in which is contained the alternative, condemnation or pardon.

We thus touch one of the greatest difficulties in this second paper: the identification of the terms already alluded to, Atonement and Mediation, and the expression of its contents by the word "reconciliation." There is thus put into each, Atonement

and Reconciliation, alike, an amount of material which Scripturally they do not contain. Mediation includes Atonement, and Atonement in its object and result has in view reconciliation. The Ptolemaic theory, it has been said, was a sufficient rationale of the amount of astronomical knowledge in the days of its author and for several centuries following. But in the attempt to put into it the materials of later observation and discovery it proved insufficient, and the Copernican took its place. This Ptolemaic difficulty presents itself in connection with the word "reconciliation" as a full account of the atoning work. To illustrate this, and to show how mere etymology may get away from essential distinction of thought, suppose the announcement to the public of this discussion in the Congress had been that of the "Christian doctrine of the reconciliation"? Many hearers would have gone without knowing what was to be discussed. Some may reply, so much the worse for the hearers. That may or may not be. But the fact would be as stated. The question would have been, "what reconciliation?" And if some had asked, is it the Atonement, the next question would have been, if Atonement, why not say so? The words do not express the same ideas. Atonement may bring about reconciliation. But not so always, however adequate. It certainly will not on the human side with many for whom it has been provided. In other words, there may be "Atonement" full and complete and yet not "at-one-ment." On the other side, there may be "at-one-ment" when there has been no Atonement. Whatever the etymology, the usage of centuries has made this distinction. The words have a common point of departure, and they may run up into each other in certain connections. But they have their distinct significance. The Atonement, to use the word in its true form, is the condition to the At-one-ment. The first, the Divine Human Mediatorial part, as the act or suffering of the Mediator, may be accomplished "once for all;" in the language of that Mediator Himself upon the cross, be "finished" (perfected), *τετέλεσται*. The second, as including the human response, the human part, may never take place. All are atoned for; are all actually reconciled? The Atonement offers this reconciliation. As accepted it is accomplished; but not otherwise. GOD was reconciling the world unto Himself in CHRIST, by revealing Himself in CHRIST, or through CHRIST's perfect sacrifice and work as reconciled, — as turning

from His displeasure and prepared to grant forgiveness and favor. When that sacrifice was "finished," then, as its result, was reconciliation; on the Divine side perfectly accomplished, on the human side fully available.

So, too, as to the impossibility of the interchange of those terms Atonement and Reconciliation, in their extension to the future ages of our world, as affecting the destinies of other worlds. The Scriptural intimations as to the effects of this work, wide-reaching, and coextensive with the universe of intelligent being, are of deep interest and striking significance. But they are based upon the assurance of a great Divine work of Atonement, as a fact accomplished. And herein they meet a great necessity of human nature. Men who are consciously sinful, and in need of atonement, want something upon which they can rest as already provided. When they ask, as did the Philippian jailer: "What must I do to be saved," they need to be told, not of a reconciliation, accomplishing itself in the coming ages of earthly existence, and expanding to the principalities and powers of a morally unified and regenerated universe; but rather, as the ground of such reconciliative and reconstructive process, the atoning sacrifice, once made, made once for all, perfected in its offering, for the sins of men, — to take away the sins of the world, — thus to take it away by a free act of gracious pardon, as well as by a free gift of moral and spiritual life.

And thus it is we come to the question: Is the effect of the Atonement only to change the character of the offender against Divine law and Divine love? Or does it effect a change of his position and standing under that law; and, involved in this, a change in the operation of that law, and in the position of the Lawgiver to him? Does not, moreover, the Divine assurance of this change of Divine position, this assurance of Divine reconciliation through *CARIST*, constitute the Divinely constraining reason and motive to his reconciliation with God? The discussion of this comes up more definitely in the papers following. For the present, it will suffice to note that while Atonement, in the sense of "at-one-ment" may include the process, the culminating act, and their results as they are to their complete actualisation, yet in the ordinary and peculiar sense of the word it describes that portion of the Mediatorial work upon which reconciliation, from either or both sides, is dependent. All the questions of interest or of difficulty centre just here. Does

the Atonement affect man only, or does it affect God? Is it an exhibition purely of love, or purely of justice, or abundantly and harmoniously of both? Is it a sacrifice of propitiation to God, or one purely of love and self-denial for man? Is it a bearing of the sins of the world in loving sympathy, or in the way of judicial consequence? Is it an example, or is it beyond and above all example, — unique and transcendent in its character, as in its results and consequences? Some of these come up more distinctly in the papers that follow. Suffice to say, that in this is the recognition of the great sacrifice of suffering for sin, — the Lamb of God bearing this burden of the world's sin, — the reconciliation in CHRIST accomplished, and in process to its full completion.

This brings us to the next paper. This is, professedly, an exhibition of the Atonement, not as a theory, but a fact; a fact exhibited in Scripture, and in the catholic consent of Christendom. Whether we have the whole fact, all the Scriptural or catholic facts of the Atonement in the presentation thus made must be the subject of inquiry. Whether, moreover, this asserted fact, which professedly keeps clear of all theories, is not itself a theory, may also be questioned.

This fact is sought first in the declarations of Scripture, then in the Catholic creeds, and in some of the Confessions of the Reformation. The material of the first, in the estimation of the writer, is to be summarised in the statement of "the fact of the Atonement, and the reconciliation of man with God." What that fact is, as distinct from its result, the reconciliation, in other words, what is meant by Atonement, we fail to get any satisfactory hint, either here or in any other part of this paper. Is it merely the equivalent of the reconciliation of man with God? Or is it the ground of it, something preliminary and additional? If the latter, what is it that makes it so? This is demanded in any description of it, even as a fact.

Referring further to the Catholic creeds, these, it is affirmed, give us the same fact. "Christ died for the forgiveness of our sins;" "He died for us men, and for our salvation."

When, however, the Confessions of the Reformation are referred to, it is found necessary to repudiate a statement of the Second Article, as also one of a similar character in the Confession of Augsburg, and to pass over the Thirty-first Article. Quotations from others of the articles are given; and one, also,

from the Catechism of Trent, affirming a full and entire satisfaction, offered after an admirable manner to the Father.

This, then, is the Christian belief of the Atonement, which is sometimes meant by the doctrine of the Atonement. This, it is contended, all hold. In contrast with it are the conflicting theories of Patristic, Scholastic, and Reformed Theology. No one of these, it is asserted, has been accepted by the Church Universal, or can put forth the claim of Catholicity. The of course implied inference is that the fact of Catholic consent, exhibited by the writer, demands present acceptance.

But the question, already suggested, again comes up: What is this fact, or doctrine, which the writer finds in Scripture, in the Catholic creeds, and in some of the Articles? These are quoted to prove what? The only statement that is mentioned, beyond their endorsement, is that the Scriptures declare "the fact of the Atonement and the reconciliation of man with God." But the question at issue is, What is Atonement? That word represents very different facts to different minds. So far as this writer enlightens us, we learn that atonement is atonement. But as to what is contained in it, as a fact of his conception,—which, with his permission, is really what he disclaims, *i. e.*, his theory,—we get no satisfactory information. The remainder of the sentence quoted may be a clue to something of the kind. Taken with one a little farther on, it seems to make the terms "atonement" and "reconciliation of man to God" identical. "Of the effect of the Atonement as regards God, we can only say, it is wholly beyond the comprehension of our finite faculties." "Of the mysterious acts, of the operative cause, we know, and can know, nothing."

"Unless," to use the language of a heathen philosopher on another topic,—“unless some god tell us,” upon this whole subject of Atonement, and whatever view may be taken of it, we are profoundly ignorant. “If one man sin against another, the judge shall judge him. But if a man sin against JEHOVAH, who shall entreat for him?” In the one case, the human judge, according to the rude and imperfect processes of human justice, awards the penalty, or the mode of pardon. But if a man sin against God, beyond human judgment, and above human estimation, who shall entreat for him? Who can say what the sin is, what is its enormity, what can be a proper reparation, what are its consequences, how they can be averted or neutralised? God

Himself must speak out from the cloud of His majesty, or there is no reply to such questions. But if He has thus spoken, and so spoken as to bring this subject into the closest relations to human necessity and human duty, then, fearlessly, we may accept and follow the words of His dictation. We may not, indeed, fully and exhaustively understand the effect of this atoning work as to GOD, or even as to ourselves. But if He tell us of such effect, we may seek and avail ourselves of its efficacy. While not fully comprehending, we may apprehend these divinely revealed truths, and act in view of their existence.

Thus it is we reach the distinct issue: Can it be affirmed that the passages of Scripture adduced reveal only the reconciliation of man to GOD? Do they not affirm something else which precedes this, and upon which it depends? They do make known that there is opened to man a way of reconciliation, — one in which all may and some do come to GOD, but in regard to which others are negligent and heedless, and persist in their alienation. This coming of man to GOD, however, is not the Atonement, but rather one of its results in human experience. Preceding this is a result of the Atonement upon which this is dependent: that which is affirmed in the Second Article, the reconciliation of GOD to man. This latter is described in Scripture as a reconciliation already perfectly accomplished, and not to be thought of, like the reconciliation of man to GOD, as in the region of future conditionalities. So far from such statement as that of this Article being unscriptural, it is one of which Scripture is full, and without which much of its teaching is unintelligible. Take, for instance, some of the passages quoted in this paper. *Romans* iii. 26 is the conclusion of an argument which opens with the wrath of GOD, the condemning Divine displeasure on men as sinners. It ends with the announcement of a propitiative redemption, in view of which GOD, retaining His judicial integrity, pardons sin, and receives sinners into favor. In other words, He proclaims Himself as reconciled to them — not them to Him — in CHRIST JESUS. It begins with GOD, a condemning Judge. It ends with Him as a reconciled Father: and all this prior to any action or movement in the way of reparation, or of effort of reconciliation, on the part of man, whatever. The law of faith, moreover, which appropriates this Divine reconciliation, in its very nature excludes all human boasting, all efforts initiative of human reconciliation.

"CHRIST's death," says Meyer, on one of the verses (of chapter v. 10) following, "did not remove the enmity of man against God. But, as that which procured their pardon on the part of God, it did away with the displeasure of God against man. And thereupon, as the moral consequence brought about by faith, ensued the cessation of the enmity of man towards God." "This," says he, "does not contradict the ἀγάπη Θεοῦ of verse eighth, preceding, since the very arrangement which God made by the death of JESUS for abandoning His displeasure against sinful man, without detriment to His holiness, was the highest form of His love." The writer of this Epistle, it is to be observed, was a Jew, writing to Jews as to Gentiles, familiar with the ideas of sacrificial expiation or propitiation. His language, by usage and long association, thus carried with it a meaning which no one could easily mistake. So, too, in 2 *Corinthians* v. 19, 21, where it is said that GOD was in CHRIST reconciling the world unto Himself, the reconciliation, so far as it regards God, is actual, so far as regards the world is only potential, until, in response to the Divine offers, the world accepts the Divine reconciliation. This is implied in the exhortation following to be thus reconciled; as in the reason for it: "Him who knew no sin, GOD made sin for us, that we in Him might be made the righteousness of GOD." It is thus, in all these varied forms of statement, a previously condemning but now reconciled Father who does this, and thus authorises the proclamation of His reconciling love to man, as the reason and ground of their reconciliation to Him.

Nor is this, as sometimes insinuated, only a Pauline conception. It is also Petrine and Johannian. "CHRIST suffered for sins, the Just for the unjust," not merely for the advantage of, but in the place of, "that He might bring us to God."* This latter is the ultimate result. But its divinely revealed intermediate, the Divine acceptance of the Sacrifice, rendering it proper that the condemning Judge should be the reconciled Father. So, also, in the language of John: "The blood of JESUS CHRIST cleanseth from all sin," — from sin in its enslavement and pol-

* "To die, or speak for, or in behalf of, another, when the alternative is that he shall die or speak himself, is to die or speak in his stead." Harrison on the Greek Preposition, with examples from the *Anabasis* and *Cyropædia*. It really seems unnecessary to quote grammatical authority for such a manifest principle of common sense. And yet how positive the assertion often made that *ὑπὲρ* cannot be construed as involving such meaning.

lution. But prior to this, and needed for this, cleansing from its sentence, reconciling us to Him who is reconciled to us, in the atoning work of His well-beloved Son. It may be doubted if a single one of the passages quoted in this paper reaches the great truth of man's reconciliation to GOD, except through that of GOD's reconciliation to him. This, indeed, is the gospel message: CHRIST the Reconciler, — the reconciler of an offended GOD to sinful men, — the reconciler, in this way, of sinful men to GOD. To proclaim to men as gospel that they are reconciled to GOD, is to tell them what they know is not true. Even if it were, it would not meet the deepest necessity of their moral and spiritual nature. That necessity is what has really been provided for: GOD reconciled to man; GOD continuing Just, and yet justifying the ungodly; condemning sin, and yet receiving sinners into favor. Of course, there may and will be difficulty in any effort to construe this Divine process, and exhaustively formulate it. This, however, need not, and ought not, interfere with the effort to know and understand, so far as possible, the Divine revelation. Here, as elsewhere, we know only in part. But part we may know. "God," it has been said, "has given us the materials to form a certain arc, and we want to make out of them a complete circle." Some may want to do this, but not all. Some may even insist that there are only materials for a point. If we have been given the materials to form the arc, we ought humbly and faithfully try to construct it. It may be quite as presumptuous, and much more indolent, to insist that we have only a point, as to insist upon constructing the circle. If, moreover, the arc be constructed, the curve of the circle will be ascertained. And it is to be said that effort in this respect has not been all failure. It is easy, in one direction, to ridicule the imperfections of early science or theology. It is wise, in another, to recognise their essential truths, and to trace their part, in the progress of advancing knowledge, to that of the present. There is not one of these earlier views of the Atonement, for instance, which does not contain important Scriptural truth, — truth which cannot safely be left out of sight. One idea runs through them all, — that of deliverance to man, in the atoning work of CHRIST, from sin in its condemning and enslaving power.

The idea or theory of Irenæus, if he really held it, of a ransom to Satan, is based upon the undoubted Scriptural truth

that man is in bondage, is the bondsman of Satan, and that the atoning work of CHRIST delivered him from this bondage. The mistake was in pressing the figure exhibiting this truth too closely. So again, at a later period, the idea of John of Damascus in the eighth century, and, with more elaboration, that of Anselm in the eleventh, of ransom, not to Satan but to God. Here are the undoubted Scriptural truths, that men, as sinners, are debtors to penalty under Divine law, and that in the atoning work of CHRIST there is provision for the removal of this penalty. But in the effort to construe this work purely as a matter of debt and credit, other important features of it were left out of sight. So, again, the Scripture truth of vicarious substitution and as part of a judicial process was sometimes, at a later period, pressed to the conclusion of a strict transference of character and subjective experience from the guilty sinner to the sinless Saviour, from the righteous Saviour to the guilty sinner. So, further, when in the effort of Grotius the conception was varied from that of Judge and criminal to the broader one of Sovereign and subject, and so in CHRIST's work to vindicate Law, and yet have the exercise of Executive clemency. This undoubtedly contains the Scriptural truth of mercy rejoicing over judgment, and yet in so doing vindicating its rectitude. In this, however, as in previous cases, failing to take full account of all the elements of the matter described. But they all include the great fact of the suffering and death of CHRIST as the objective ground of man's forgiveness and salvation. They all recognise His "blood shed for the forgiveness of sins; His life a ransom for many; His life laid down for His sheep." *

* In the paper under examination these are all treated as theories, contrasted with what is, in that paper, asserted to be the fact of the Atonement. "What," to use the language of another, "can seem more simply true than the admission of a fact. Yet facts are often insipid theories, while many theories are only explained facts." "We are often told," says another, "that such a thing is a fact; A FACT, and not A THEORY, with all the emphasis in speaking or in writing that tone or capitals can give. We must ask, to whom is it a fact? What habits of thought, what previous information, what ideas does it imply, to conceive the fact as a fact? Does not the apprehension of the fact imply assumptions which may with equal justice be called theory and which are perhaps false theory? Did not the ancients assert it, and does not John Jasper assert it still, as a fact, that the earth stands still and that the sun and stars do move? "I stood," says Jasper, "in my front door and saw the sun rise; and from the back door I saw it go down. That I know as a fact. Now which moved? Certainly the house did not, nor did the ground that it was on." Can any fact be more manifest or have stronger perceptive evidence for its assertion? The assertion that the Atonement is purely subjective in its influence,

While these words of Scripture, λύτρωσις, καταλλαγή, ἱλασμός, ἀντίλυτρον, are figures, they are figures which express realities. And one reality which they are constantly implying and expressing is that of their efficacy with God; and with man subsequently, and consequentially, in view of such efficacy, Godward. "Scripture," says Bishop Butler, who is appealed to as sustaining the view of this paper, — "Scripture has left this matter of *the satisfaction* of CHRIST mysterious, — left somewhat in it unrevealed." According to Butler, however, "Scripture does declare an efficacy in what CHRIST did and suffered for us additional to and beyond mere instruction, example, and government; that this sacrifice of CHRIST was, in the highest degree and with the most extensive influence, of that efficacy for obtaining pardon of sin, which the heathen may be supposed to have thought their sacrifices, and which the Jewish sacrifices really were, in some degree, and with regard to some persons." "CHRIST," says he, "not only taught the efficacy of repentance by what He did and suffered for us; He obtained for us the benefit of having our repentance accepted unto eternal life." While Butler, therefore, wisely recognises that there is much in this work which transcends human capacity, he at the same time does find in it, and insists upon its efficacy to secure pardon for sin, and acceptability to repentance, — an efficacy Godward.

It would be pleasant and profitable to go on with the two other speakers following. But our limits have been reached.

I saw (says the wonderful Dreamer of Bedford Jail), — I saw that Christian ran thus till he came at a place somewhat ascending; and upon that place stood a cross, and a little below in the bottom a sepulchre. So I saw in my dream that just as he came up with the cross his burden loosed from off his shoulders and fell off from his back, and began to tumble, and so continued to do till it came to the mouth of the sepulchre, when it fell in and I saw it no more.

Then he stood awhile to look and to wonder, for it was very surprising to him that the sight of the cross should ease his burden. He looked, therefore, and looked again, even until the springs that were in his head sent the waters to his cheeks.

This is the fiction of genius. The reality of actual life is no less striking. William Cowper, walking to and fro in his chamber that it only reconciles man to God, or that we have no faculties for asserting its effect towards God, involves a theory no less than that of Anselm or Grotius. Whether it contains as many Scriptural facts in its composition is another question.

ber in deep despondency, opens his New Testament and reads : " Whom GOD hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of GOD, that He might be just and the justifier of him that believeth in JESUS." " Immediately," says he, " I received strength to believe and the full beams of the Sun of Righteousness shone upon me. I saw the sufficiency of the Atonement He had made ; my pardon sealed in His own blood, and all the fulness and completeness of His justification. In a moment I believed and received the gospel. What my friend had said to me so long before revived in all its clearness with demonstrations of the SPIRIT and with power. Unless the Almighty arm had been underneath me, I think I should have died with gratitude and joy."

What was this man's view of the Atonement there can be little question. Is there any other that fully meets the felt necessities of a consciously guilty and self-condemned creature ? of one thus guilty and condemned not only in his own heart but before Him who is greater than any human heart, and who in unerring rectitude judges all things ?

How simple and yet how touchingly beautiful those lines of one who went to his rest more than two hundred years ago, of his faith, as to this doctrine.

I fall asleep in JESUS' arms,
Sin washed away, hushed all alarms.
Since His dear Blood, His Righteousness,
My beauty are, my glorious dress ;
In which before my GOD I stand
When I shall reach the Heavenly land.

With peace and joy I now depart ;
GOD's child I am with all my heart.
I thank thee, death, thou callest me
To that true life where I would be.
So cleansed by CHRIST I fear not death, —
LORD JESUS, strengthen Thou my faith.

Whatever our previous theories, our faith, if we have it, will be apt, as we stand upon the edge, or begin to ford the depths of the cold and dark river, to simplify itself down to something very much of this character.

CORNELIUS WALKER.

A NEW POET.

Lyrics and Satires. By RICHARD E. DAY. Syracuse: John T. Roberts.

WE should despair of convincing any one that there is a new poet, if forced to trust to phrases about him; fortunately we have his poetry. We call it poetry: the reader, when he has given himself the pleasure of perusing the lines which follow, is quite free to call it what he will. He will be a strange reader, however, if he does not think he knows the sound of true poetry, and we ask his attention to the stanzas beneath, confident that, whatever he imagines that sound to be, he cannot think that these lines ring false to it:—

HYMN TO THE MOUNTAIN.

Within the hollow of thy hand —
This wooded dell half up the height,
Where streams take breath midway in flight —
Here let me stand.

Here warbles not a lowland bird,
Here are no babbling tongues of men;
Thy rivers rustling through the glen
Alone are heard.

Above, no pinion cleaves its way,
Save when the eagle's wing, as now,
With sweep imperial shades thy brow
Beetling and gray.

The happy vapors, where they lie,
Look upward to thy blue intense,
And in the glory scattered thence
Worship and die.

Thine is serenity complete;
Tempests and thunders jar below,
And rain-drops curve their radiant bow
Even at thy feet.

A New Poet.

What thoughts are thine, majestic peak ?
 And moods that were not born to chime
 With poet's ineffectual rhyme
 And numbers weak ?

The green Earth spreads thy gaze before,
 And the unfailing skies are brought
 Within the level of thy thought.
 There is no more.

The stars salute thy rugged crown
 With syllables of twinkling fire ;
 Like choral burst from distant choir
 Their psalm rolls down.

And I, within this temple niche,
 Like statue set where prophets talk,
 Catch strains they murmur as they walk,
 And I am rich.

This is finely said, it is true, and it is satisfying. We do not think this overstates the fact ; but prose might be all of these. Of poetry we require that it give us the sense of something "far more deeply interfused." That indefinable something, it seems to us, is richly present here. It is impossible to read the "Hymn to the Mountain," in the spirit in which alone one should venture to read poetry, without a feeling of exaltation which prose at its best cannot give, and which all the verses that ever littered booksellers' counters could not kindle in us. We think that the reader will consent to call the "Hymn to the Mountain" poetry, with us, upon no more solid ground than this. But he may very well doubt whether, this being granted, he has discovered a new poet. He will, no doubt, recall recent performances by writers as little known as the author of these lines, which are also entitled to be called by the high name of poetry. If the "Hymn to the Mountain" is indeed the work of one who may fairly be called a new poet, he must have gone farther than the writing of something which we are compelled to call poetry ; he must have struck an individual note, and he must have proved that he has it in him to sound it with a certain continuousness,—with assured command. Richard E. Day, the writer of the poem we have quoted, has, out of all doubt, struck such a note in the slight volume, the title of which we have chosen as a text ; and a careful reading of this first collection leaves us with strong faith that he is

capable of sounding it at will. It is a note familiar of late years only in the work of the great poets : we mean the note of *spirituality*.

Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie has recently set forth very happily a truth little apprehended, namely, that spirituality, as we understand it, was almost unknown to English literature until Wordsworth's day ; and has pointed out how strange the spirit of "In Memoriam," for example, is to the spirit of the poetry even of the eighteenth century. He intimates, but does not insist upon, a truth which is somewhat in the nature of a corollary : that spirituality is a conspicuously absent element in the poetry that is making nowadays. We think it a truth extremely well worth insisting upon, for it is an absence so great, so vital, that, though there were no countervailing materialism, it would seem almost like a presence — the presence of an invisible blight. Mr. Stedman has told us how science and modern investigation, and all that, have got hold of our young poets, and wound their stifling coils about them until they have choked all will and power to poetise out of them. This is true because they first crushed religion out of them. A poet without faith is in sad and anomalous case ; how, indeed, shall he preach to others, — not morals, surely, but that "beauty of holiness and holiness of beauty" which is of the essence of poetry, — being "himself a castaway" ? How is it possible that poetry should contain the lasting solace and joy which all great poetry holds for us, stripped of those intimations of the deeper meaning of things which are at once man's most precious possessions and nearest concern ? How, in truth, is it possible that such poetry should, in the better sense, be poetry at all ?

We have thought the work of Mr. Day deserving of attention, first, of course, because it is genuine poetry, but chiefly because it is singular, among the achievements of the younger American school of poets, at all events, in that it flows from spiritual sources, and that the spirituality which feeds his inspiration is remarkable both for its delicacy and its robustness. We cannot do better than quote a trifle which may serve to exhibit how even his lighter manner flowers naturally in spiritual thought : —

THE CORAL TREE.

Out of the gardens of the deep,
Out of the orchards of the sea —

A New Poet.

Farther than ever storm-keels sweep—
Blossomed the coral tree.

It spread its pomp of foliage wide,
It climbed a league of twilight dim,
Its roots where foul sea-monsters glide,
Its top where great ships swim.

The sunsets shot their level fire
Across the summit of its boughs,
And from its clusters red and dire
Huge navies turned their prow.

Among its twigs green islands grew,
Where flowers enchain the feet of spring,
And sea-weed loiters, and the mew
Folds her adventurous wing.

But they that wrought the coral leaf,
And set its everlasting bloom,
Beneath the island and the reef
Died, in the stilly gloom.

Life was for them a stinted dole—
A little time, a little room,
A trackless way, a viewless goal,
The garnishing a tomb.

Thus, human toilers toward the light,
Ye change your living flesh to stone,
And perish in the silent night,
Unhonored and unknown.

Yet evermore, as well as they,
The generations of the sea,
Ye build, 'mid tempest and decay,
Your monumental tree.

Lowell, Longfellow, and Bryant offer numerous instances of this kind of poetry. We do not doubt that the magazines refuse a good deal of it in the course of a year. The method of it is an open secret. But its simplicity, directness, and brevity are things to convict thin-thoughted poets. It is to be noticed that the rhymster who has nothing to say commonly chooses the most involved and difficult metres in which to say it. Only large thought, coupled with that high reserve and consummate felicity of style which are the possessions of the richer sort of poetical genius alone, may venture successfully upon straight-

forwardness. The poem which follows chances to be upon what would be called a "religious subject," but the treatment is no less and no more spiritual than the treatment of "The Coral Tree:" —

ELOI LAMA SABACHTHANI.

When the scourged Messiah hung
At the malefactors' side,
Pierced by Israel's scoffing tongue,
Once in awful woe he cried,
Through the darkness of the cross,
"Eloi lama sabachthani?"

Down the ages that have sped,
Down the Calvaries of time,
From that mocked and thorn-wreathed head,
Comes to us the plaint sublime,
Comes the murmur of the cross,
"Eloi lama sabachthani?"

Often, when the night is loud,
And the tempest moans along
Like a ghost without a shroud,
Rings that cry of sorrow strong
From the Christ upon the cross,
"Eloi lama sabachthani?"

And I dream that human kind,
Nailed upon the tree of pain,
Breathes its anguish on the wind,
Breathes that bitter, bitter strain,
Steeped in hyssop of the cross,
"Eloi lama sabachthani?"

From the couch where sickness shakes
Its wan victim, from the hell
Where the maniac shrieks and quakes,
From the doomed man's solemn cell,
Speaks the burden of the cross,
"Eloi lama sabachthani?"

From the heart that breaks above
Confined plight or virtue's dust,
From the lips of her whom love
Cheated of a woman's trust,
Falls that question of the cross,
"Eloi lama sabachthani?"

From the hero when he dies
 While his cause in clouds goes down ;
 From the patriot when he buys
 Only curses for his crown,
 Bursts the loud moan of the cross,
"Eloi lama sabachthani?"

Thus, in sorrow's sacred tongue,
 All across the buried years,
 From the souls that have been wrung
 By a grief too deep for tears,
 Sounds the wail that shook the cross,
"Eloi lama sabachthani?"

It is the fault of some of Mr. Day's less fortunate efforts that they are merely descriptive of a thought or of a mental attitude, or more often of some beauty of nature, and that they fail crisply to sum up the meaning of the poem in the last lines with that swift derivation of the idea adroitly accomplished in "The Coral Tree." But he oftener succeeds than fails in this respect. All criticism of this young poet should, in fairness, proceed with a recognition of the conditions which have hindered and limited the development of the poetic faculty in him. Mr. Day was born to the life of a farmer, and until he was of age did his share in the labor of tilling the soil, piecing out an education for himself as best he might in such intervals of leisure as he could command. He read his Greek and Latin for entrance to college in time won from farm labor by teaching in district schools. He was scarcely out of college before circumstances caused him to enter the literary calling by the lowly back door of daily journalism ; and in this occupation he has continued up to this time, save for some periods of rest, enforced by overwork. Men gifted — or, in this country, whose policy it is to stifle the growth of a native literature, should we not rather say tormented? — with the faculty of literary expression find journalism, which beguiles the young mind with a semblance of kinship to literature, a kind of task-work less friendly to their natural bent than a calling entirely foreign to their talent. We do not know how Mr. Day may feel about it, of course, but a poet must be strangely constructed in whose leisure Pegasus foots it more nimbly toward the stars, because, in hours of laborious bread-getting, that winged steed is harnessed to a cart. It is natural that we should feel the lack of some things in the

work of a poet country-bred, self-educated, and forced all his life to think under what conditions the immediate dollar might most readily be had rather than under what conditions Poetry might most fortunately utter her shy oracles. Of course the quality of verse is not certain to be the worse because of the hard fortune of the poet, unless it altogether quenches his power of song; but a narrow lot may very well contract his growth and limit his vision. We sometimes have the sense in reading the poems of Mr. Day, deep as is the acquaintance with life which they exhibit, that the author of them has, perhaps, not lived quite enough. We do not mean that he has not lived long enough, for the acquaintance with men and affairs — with the world, in short — which his poetry would occasionally be the richer for sounding the note of, is a sort of knowledge in which the usual young man is a post-graduate; but we could wish that he had been offered the opportunity to live more widely. And yet it is better to be even naïve, if one must, than to have lived past all the things that make life worth while, as our young singers of pessimism have done. At his poorest Mr. Day, with his naïvete, has something to say, and commonly something that we are the better for listening to; and at his best his freshness and simplicity are a great charm. If he has had comparatively little contact with men in his own day, he has plainly lived in close communion with the great spirits of all time, and has not been taught by them a disrespect for the accent of simplicity which is native to him. We are afraid that he would have to own himself a stranger to the "tremendous diction," and that he knows more about the structure of the sonnet than about the structure of the rondeau. His intimacy with books has not led him into imitation of his betters. We should have some difficulty in naming any mental kinsfolk for him, if we looked to outer form alone. The purpose running through his poetry has a certain fellowship, perhaps, with the strain which we catch from that too little known great poet, Sidney Lanier. Like Lanier, too, he is more sure of his matter than of his form, though, so far as this first volume shows, clearly his inferior in that sure ear and feeling for the music of verse which taught the Southerner to touch his instrument to such soul-moving harmonies. In criticism comparison, we are aware, is often a misleading short-cut; but, in considering the work of this poet, we are conscious of the need of comparisons to keep the perspective just.

We are inclined to commend Mr. Day for his abstinence from the vice (common even among great poets who have been possessed by a sense of the moral drift of things) which consists in furnishing forth a poem with a moral as a sort of graceful pendant. Mr. Day properly feels that a moral which cannot be made to shine through the very body and substance of a poem might much better never shine at all. But he is incapable of writing anything without a moral significance, near or remote, and the dominant meaning of faith to his poetic creed cannot be so well conveyed as by reproducing here his fine sonnet on Swinburne:—

TO SWINBURNE.

Strong Voice, that chantest love and liberty
 So that we hear o'er undertones of waves,
 Voice freer than the sea-bird's when it braves
 The shout and boisterous trumpets of the sea.
 No other lip doth so melodiously,
 Lulling and lifting souls of kings and slaves,
 Praise love, or thunder in immortal staves
 This oracle, The light shall make men free.
 Ah! wouldst thou as divinely sing of faith!
 Wouldst sing of God as thou dost sing of man!
 Wouldst thrill the gravest string of Nature's chords,
 And with the notes of life the note of death!
 Wouldst mingle freedom, love, and faith, one plan,
 And be in Song's domain supreme of Lords!

This is certainly different enough in tone from anything to which our younger poets accustom us. But it is not only in positive qualities that Mr. Day differs from his brothers of the junior choir: he has negative virtues for which we are thankful in proportion to their rarity. The chief of these virtues is that he never coddles himself in any manner or degree. He has no melancholy account to settle with the world, and he has the great good sense to be more interested in this same fair and beautiful world than he is in the woes of Mr. Day. He is the reverse of introspective, and if he sometimes indulges a metaphysical tendency too far, as in "Apocalyptic," he balances it with strains of the purest poetry. It is worth noting that he seldom chooses a subject that touches the personal relations, and even love—the theme which young poets find writes poems on itself automatically—has scarce more attention than its place in the economy of nature merits. This reserve we can-

not help regarding as a separate marvel : for to read some of our modern poets one would think that there were only two facts worth mentioning — certainly only two worth writing a poem about — namely, love and death. Mr. Day has the Christian's thought of death, and as for love, when he turns his hand to it, he can be as graceful as the lightest-minded prettifier of high subjects of them all — as witness this very dainty bit of poesy : —

GOLD.

Fortune, weird dame, shakes the uncanny gold
With awkward favor from her jingling horn,
Not so the soncy fay whose fingers told
Out all the wealth of cowslips and of corn,
And all that wings of yellow finches hold.

There is more craft in her light, sunny toil
Than in the hands that shape the gold of Ind.
They could not hide a jewel in the coil
Of budded lilies, rocking in the wind,
Or tinge the petals with so dainty foil.

But she has dowered in more cunning wise
The cat-tails keeping in their rough brown nap
A glint of gold, and shrewder treasure lies
In the centre of the dandelion's cap,
And in the silken hood the maize unties.

Yet all her lesser work is but despair ;
For once she made a woman's locks of brown,
And strewed a glittering treasure in her hair,
Ah ! wily mesh, and strong beyond renown !
The sunshine and my heart are in the snare.

It is not in such work, however, that he shows the metal which is in him, and we have too long delayed making the reader acquainted with the beautiful lament which follows : —

THE WALL OF THE TEMPLE.

From this gray pile of crumbling stone,
Within whose ancient crevices
Are grasses wandering from the sun —
This wall that lists to Israel's moan
And voice of plaintful litanies —
Once soared the fane of Solomon ;
Hard by, Jehovah's holy priests
Sent curling upward to His throne
The smoke of feasts.

A New Poet.

Grand was the dwelling of our God !
 In stone from Tyrian quarries brought,
 Cedar and fir from Lebanon ;
 With nameless glory winged and shod,
 O'er twenty cubits' space were wrought
 The cherubim of Solomon ;
 Shrewd palm-trees of the sculptor told ;
 And all o'erlaid from roof to sod
 With Ophir's gold.

Rare booty had the heathen horde
 Whose chariots up from Shinar rolled,
 And wanton vale of Babylon.
 Strange harvests, with barbarian sword —
 Fruitage of precious stones and gold, —
 Reaped charioteer and myrmidon ;
 And golden bowls of use divine
 Took Babylon's impious lord
 For revel and wine.

In the world-old shadow of thy face,
 That through the Haram es-Sherif
 Creeps backward from the prying sun,
 Thy glories flit with ghostly pace,
 Or brood in apparition brief,
 O desolate wall of Solomon :
 Even as we kneel, with shoes put off,
 Out of the crannies at thy base
 Do they not scoff ?

Within these stones a heart should beat ;
 And from these gray-lipped crevices,
 To patience and to silence won,
 A breath of gracious speech should fleet
 Amid thy stony sanctities,
 O desolate fane of Solomon !
 Speak, sacred wall, Jehovah's will !
 Our fathers' dust beneath our feet
 Is not more still.

Fled all the effluence Divine,
 Nor left one animating breath, —
 One lingering, pitying benison, —
 When Judah saw her hill-tops shine
 To Moloch and to Ashtoreth,
 The gods of doting Solomon ;
 Bowed her to alien teraphim,
 And garnished the voluptuous shrine
 Of Baalim ?

The god of iron and of clay,
Image of silver and of brass,
Idol of gold that dims the sun,
Still, Judah, leads thy feet astray —
The same that withered up as grass
The noon-tide strength of Babylon,
Like drops of water through his hands
The kingdoms slip, or flow away
Like trickling sands.

Yet saw the seer upon this rock,
Which Islam's domes unhallowed hem,
The tabernacle's wandering blaze,
While to thy risen gates did flock
Nations with palms, Jerusalem,
Bringing like Sheba's queen their praise,
And Zion's house from Lebanon
Reached down to where the billows mock
Sad Askelon.

Shall we not come in eager ranks
As they who raised the prostrate shrine
With Ezra and Zerubbabel,
While psalteries ring exultant thanks,
And singers of a chosen line
Rejoice the steps of Israel,
Faring from Danube and from Don,
From western Babels and the banks
Of Amazon?

Here Canaan's corn and vineyards boon
A-ripening burn as when unfurled
The landscape lay in Moses' sight;
Or when long past the night's dread noon
Did Joshua smite the pagan world,
Scourging the Amorites' leagued might,
While paused on solemn Gibeon
The crimson sun, and the white moon
In Ajalon.

No gift we bring but souls that tire, —
Dead altar of Jerusalem, —
Building anew the living wall;
The harp whose strings with jubilant fire
Leaped when the psalmist spake to them
Hangs mute where its own echoes call, —
As, where Euphrates' waters run,
Pulseless and still swung Judah's lyre
In Babylon.

A New Poet.

No sound starts from thy quivering lips,
 Judæa, seated in this court,
 With eyes that turn, and turn in vain,
 To where the freights of Tarshish's ships
 Rocking in Tyre's or Zidon's port
 Wound inland o'er the northern plain,
 Save the lament Hilkiab's son
 Chanted, with sack-cloth on his hips,
 In Babylon.

Not thine the lamentation drear;
 Sharper than that sad prophet's wail,
 Whose trumpet syllables had pealed
 On an unlistening nation's ear,
 And rolled away down Kedron's vale,
 Were thy heart's cry, were it unsealed,
 Not thine this wailful orison,
 Heard ere rang round thy ramparts here
 Rome's clarion.

The ruthless steps of morning fall
 Across the Dead Sea's barriers;
 From the great Kubbet es-Sukrah
 An hour ago the muezzin's call
 Unto the Moslem worshippers
 Startled the sacred court; and, ah!
 Another paynim day beats on
 The sanctuary and the wall
 Of Solomon.

The sonorous strength, the majestic march of this fine poem, quite apart from the thought beneath its brave dress, must penetrate the most casual reader. It has a sweep and breadth which ally it with the highest poetry. We shall be strangely mistaken if the writer of these lines, and of the others which we have quoted, does not some day — for his best performances are unquestionably to come — do work which will entitle him to a permanent and honorable place among poets of the better sort.

OBSTACLES TO CHRISTIAN UNITY.

1. "*The Memorial Papers*," Report of the Episcopal Commission, presented to the General Convention of 1856.
2. *Reports of the Congress of American Churches.*
3. *Resolutions of the Diocese of Louisiana and other Dioceses on Christian Unity.*
4. *Petition to the General Convention of 1886 on Christian Unity.*

IN view of the growing interest in Christian unity, and the many discussions as to how the scattered portions of CHRIST's flock can be brought together into one fold, it is pertinent to inquire what are some of the obstacles. There are obstacles, or else these unhappy divisions could not continue year after year. There are *serious* obstacles, too, or else the good sense and Christian spirit of so many wise men in the different religious bodies would soon devise some plan of union.

Some of the most ardent friends of Christian unity confess that, however greatly they long for it, and however fervently they pray for it, they can see no plan by which it can now be accomplished, and their best word is to wait until GOD the HOLY GHOST shall make men to be of one mind and of one heart. While it is certainly true that there can be no union until the Giver of all grace shall work mightily in removing whatever stands in the way of godly concord, it is well to study the hindrances calmly and dispassionately, and so to get some clear view of what organic union must involve.

The temper of the times is happily quite favorable to such an inquiry, for the growth of a broader view of what the Church of CHRIST is, in its ideal, permits the most searching investigation and the freest utterances of opinion without the danger of incurring the charge of disloyalty to one's own denomination on the one hand, or of discourtesy to other bodies on the other. There have been times when each little organisation thought itself to be "the Israel of GOD." The smaller the number of

its members, and the narrower its views, the more strongly it held to the belief that its existence was essential to the preservation of the truth on the earth.

But there has come to some a more correct and hence a more generous view. It may be that they are just as sincere to-day in believing that the doctrines they hold are important, but they have seen that the Church of CHRIST is broader than any denomination of Christians, and that fellowship with all believers, even though there be varying views, is most desirable.

(1.) When, however, we give attention to the divisions that exist, and to the hindrances to Christian unity, we soon become aware of the fact that one obstacle is *a widespread ignorance among Christian people of what is really meant by Christian unity.*

Some suppose that it is nothing more than the bringing about of an era of such good feeling that "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." If that be all, a tacit agreement to live in peace with others is all that is required, and the lost unity of the Church is restored simply by letting other people alone.

We have had a great many exhibitions of this kind of unity, but what have they done to check denominationalism and to present an unbroken front to the world? The good feeling is all very well, the determination to live peaceably with all men is very well, but what about organic life as members of one fold?

We may emphasise the fact that to-day there is such affectionate regard on the part of Christian denominations for each other that they can extend cordial greetings, and wish each other God-speed; but is that enough?

Few can honestly say that they believe this is the unity which once existed in the Christian Church, and which is the realisation of the Master's prayer for His disciples that they all might be one.

Others, who realise that unity means much more than living peaceably, are very fond of using a military figure, and telling us that the Christian Church is a vast army, with different divisions under different banners, but that all the divisions are waging the same battle against the same foes.

This representation is quite a favorite one with some pulpit orators, and its plausibility often misleads unthinking people.

It can certainly never satisfy any one who sees that much of the strength of these modern divisions is spent in winning men from one division to another. The military figure is apt to be forgotten when people want to make a change in their ecclesiastical relations. They are not told then that one division is as good as another. The rejoicing over new recruits is ordinarily as great when they come from another Christian camp as if they came out from the world.

The fact is, few believe that one division is as good as another, else there would be different plans adopted for the occupation of missionary territory, and an entire disuse of efforts for increasing the membership of one division by depleting another.

One obstacle, then, that must be removed is this widespread ignorance of what Christian unity is. We must all learn that it is something more than good feeling, and that the Church is not an army divided up into different divisions. We must look back to the design of its Founder, and to the conditions of its existence before heresy and schism invaded it, and seek to restore it to what it was then in its organic life, its principles, and its polity.

(2.) A second obstacle is the view held by others that *the divisions, instead of being harmful, are really helpful to the progress of Christianity.*

One of the strongest presentations of this view was made by a layman a few years ago. There was a conference of gentlemen respecting the religious interests of a certain community, and the proposal was made that, instead of encouraging the organisation of a new denomination in the place, efforts should be made to combine, and thus to strengthen, those already existing. The layman referred to objected strongly to this proposal, upon the ground that denominationalism was a blessing. It secured more money, it interested more people, it developed more energy, and it produced better results than could be the case in any other way. He instanced the construction of fine church edifices, the large missionary offerings, and the zeal each of these competing bodies manifested for building itself up. "And," said he, "just as soon as this competition stops the energies of people will flag. They will give less money, put forth less effort, and things will become flat and dull."

It is quite likely that many people agree with this gentleman, although not all of them are so ready to say openly that they believe divisions are a blessing.

The utter fallacy of all such reasoning is seen when you look at the condition of things existing in almost any ordinary community. Take the very community which seemed to the apologist for its divisions so much benefited by these divisions.

It has four small religious edifices, all within sight of each other. For much less than what the four cost one large noble building could have been constructed.

The four ministers now laboring separately, and occasionally crossing each other's lines while studying to avoid giving offence, could do much better work if they were of one organisation. They are not all needed where they are. Two of them could do the work of the four.

Then as to the people, it certainly is a most gratuitous assumption to say that men who profess and call themselves Christians, when properly instructed will not labor so hard nor give so much money for the Master as they will to maintain their own fancies, and to get ahead of their brethren.

If Christian unity did nothing more than encourage the growth of purer motives, it would be worth laboring for.

Few of us have any realisation of the great cost of our present methods of work and of the unwise expenditure of money. Inasmuch as a business term, "competition," is sometimes used to set forth the benefits of the present condition of things, it is proper to ask if sagacious business men would conduct business enterprises in such a way.

Would they occupy the same small territory with three or more independent establishments when a wider field just beyond remained unoccupied? Would they employ four men to do the work of two?

Competition among Christian brethren! Why, surely no one can think complaisantly of it when he remembers that the work of the Christian Church is to preach the Gospel to all nations for a witness so that the Son of Man may come again in His glorious majesty.

(3.) A third obstacle is the hope so often expressed by many a sanguine friend of Christian unity that *the religious organisation with which he happens to be connected is destined to absorb all the others.*

Nothing is more common than such a view. Sometimes it is expressed in very forcible terms, and sometimes it gives color to all consideration of the subject. Some are so well satisfied

with their present denominational doctrines and usages that they cannot think of any change being necessary or desirable, and wonder why it is that all Christians do not rally under their banner.

They resent the suggestion that there is no religious organisation of any kind to-day in this country which in its present condition is fitted to receive all the others.

It is not necessary to point out the utter absurdity of requiring all men to subscribe to confessions of faith which have had their origin in comparatively modern days, and which represent but one phase of Christian thought, or to compel the adoption of usages which were unknown in the primitive ages, or to impose tests which are not vital.

We make no real advance towards unity until we are ready to admit that there may be changes made in the way of simplification and comprehension.

Just what those changes must be it is not competent for any one now to suggest beyond the general statement that there must be a return to the Faith and Polity which prevailed in the purest ages of Christianity. Some things held now as doctrines must be left simply in the realm of allowable opinions. Some things deemed essential must be declared to belong to the non-essentials. Usages now insisted upon as very necessary may become optional, and many a requirement may possibly be relaxed.

It is quite probable that a reorganised Christianity will be quite a different thing from what some of us fancy it will be, and possibly it might not suit us near so well as our present denominations, simply because we have not yet grown up to the broader conception which will be required.

Our fondness for insisting upon minor issues must give place to larger views of the Church. Our disposition to make converts to our way of thinking must be exchanged for willingness to see them become CHRIST'S servants, and our narrow notion that we represent the Church must be replaced by the conviction that the Church is too broad and comprehensive to be represented in its fulness even by us.

There is probably nothing so repulsive to the majority of men who give thought to this subject as the claim made by ardent denominationalists that unity means the absorption of all the present bodies in one existing organisation with all its features

unchanged. They properly declare that such an absorption means simply a denominational triumph, and is not in any sense a gain for Christian unity or a return to Evangelic Truth and Apostolic Order.

(4.) And this leads very naturally to the mention of the fourth obstacle; viz., *the ignorance of the fact that the unity of the primitive Church was consistent with varying opinions and modes of working.*

There was no dead level of sameness, although there was unity. They preserved what was essential, while they permitted large liberty in non-essentials.

The "Faith once delivered to the saints" was very simple. That they defended, while they did not feel called upon to defend the diversities of interpretation which men put upon many of its different points.

Divisions into parties began when men began to press their own interpretations, but the first formal separation was not consummated until the weight of arrogant authority was used to compel sameness in matters of opinion.

And so all subsequent subdivisions have grown out of efforts to compel a uniformity, or out of voluntary separations for the purpose of maintaining favorite views, or out of ignorance of essential principles.

Reunion can be possible only when there is a return to the essential truths of primitive Christianity, and the willingness to permit wide diversities of opinion and usage.

To learn what are the essential truths of our religion which we must accept, and what are the limits of allowable variations, should be the effort of all who would find some durable basis for reunion.

It makes the outlook much more hopeful if we are willing to adopt the position that there are vital truths, and that there may be allowable differences of view upon lesser points.

Of course it is not for any of us to declare arbitrarily what these essential truths are. We must find out what the primitive Church declared them to be; what was Evangelic Faith and what was Apostolic Order.

If the Gospel is God's final revelation to men, then the Faith once delivered to the saints contained those essential truths, and nothing of more recent origin can contain anything that is vital. It is not in the power of the Church to originate articles of the

Faith, or to devise a new Polity, but simply to declare what had been from the beginning.

This appeal to the primitive deposit must seem reasonable to most Christian bodies, except indeed to some who boldly declare that Christianity has been a development, and that the new is better than the old. For such people the appeal to antiquity means nothing, for they discredit the wisdom and reliability of the Apostles, and contend that those were days of darkness from which no light shines down upon the present.

The majority, however, of believers must recognise the fact that the Master delivered to those whom He commissioned to plant His Church certain definite truths which can never be altered, and which have in them saving health for all nations.

To discover what these truths are, to separate the notions and fancies of men, to see the truth free from human interpretations and vagaries, — this is one way to reach Christian unity.

If it should be found that there are after all a few vital points around which all can cluster, then what is to become of so much that is now held, and to which many have been so long accustomed?

Very evidently there are some things they can give up, and there are others which they will judge it no longer necessary to press as hitherto. It may be that such a study would open all eyes more and more to see how small were some of the causes that led to separations, and how easy reconciliations would have been if the pacific temper which now prevails had prevailed in those stormy days of controversy.

Little concessions, larger recognition of varying opinions, a gentler spirit, and a clearer knowledge of what was primitive and Apostolic, might have prevented many a separation of Christian brethren.

Now that the unchristian temper has been generally succeeded by something more in accordance with the patience, the gentleness, and the brotherly kindness of CHRIST, may not little concessions, larger recognition of varying opinions, and a study of the early Church lead to the healing of the divisions?

Just at this point there may arise something of the old-time championship which cried out, "The truth is in danger! Let us spring forward to its defence!"

But let the champions keep their swords in their sheaths yet awhile. The suggestion is not that the truth shall be pared away to suit everybody, until there is nothing left.

No, not that, but simply that we consider seriously what are the vital principles upon which we can be united. No one need give up his opinions and his preferences concerning minor points, only thenceforth he is debarred from pressing them as essential.

(5.) A fifth obstacle is *the influence of social distinctions*. When we have said all that can be said about Christian brotherhood, the fact still remains that Christian people are tempted to let mere worldly distinctions separate them into classes.

The lines are drawn, and one man must stand there while another is invited to a good place.

Social preëminence varies in different communities. No one denomination holds it everywhere. In one place it is held by one body, and in another by a very different body.

It matters but little, however, what the denomination is; this temptation to make bids for social prominence is a strong one and is not always resisted.

The sect that claims to come nearest to the people in one place grows most exclusive, socially, in another place.

But just so long as worldly distinctions are allowed to divide Christian people, they are unprepared to make much advance in a unity that brings into one happy fellowship all who name the name of CHRIST in sincerity and truth.

The conception of the Church which a few hold is not that it is a Brotherhood of all classes, but an organisation of very genteel people only, with refined tastes and cultivated manners.

Where a view like this is not held, there may yet be the struggle for social influence to gain financial support. And here is one of the great dangers we are in by reason of our unhappy divisions.

The struggle for existence leads some organisations to resort to measures which the calm judgment of all thoughtful people must condemn. Any Christian organisation loses wholesome influence whenever it loses its independence.

The independent position held by the primitive Church made it able to rebuke vice and to draw the line very clearly between serving God and serving the world.

To-day, however, the voice of protest is very feeble, so that the rich and prominent sinner who is driven out of one fold may sometimes find an easy entrance into another.

We may not believe that the socialist and the communist have

any good reasons for the advocacy of their views, but could their views find such ready acceptance to-day by the common people, if the Christian Church seemed to them to be indeed a Brotherhood?

We repel, very indignantly sometimes, the accusations of the advocates of socialism and the like, but let us see if we who call ourselves Christians have been so true to the primitive model that whatever else men thought of the Church they could not mistake its purpose to bring into friendly relations all sorts and conditions. If, for example, the dispensing of relief to the unfortunate had always been faithfully attended to, could it have been possible for the great charitable societies, outside of the Church, to have grown to their present proportions? If the Church had always been warm-hearted and tender, could there be to-day so many working people absolutely alienated from it?

When we meet objections we have in mind an ideal Brotherhood which has rarely been approximated, and not the imperfect manifestation which really exists.

We answer these arguments against the Church by citing the past, when Christians were of one heart and of one mind, and not by citing the present, when so often the effort to gain social prominence leads to the neglect, if not to the despising, of the so-called lower classes.

Our talk about evangelising the masses is often but the announcement that we are about to stoop down from our pedestal to touch people whom we have no thought of raising up to the place where we have stood.

The early Church went out with its mission to men and not to classes. If people in Cæsar's palace accepted the Gospel they were honored by accepting it. They could confer no lustre on the Gospel. If the poor came into the fold, they were brethren thenceforth, and were not treated as men hanging on to a select circle.

One obstacle remains yet to be considered, and that is *the deterring influence of large vested interests along the whole line of denominationalism.*

Men, money, and material have been devoted to the spread of certain views, and hence to the continuation of parties and divisions. So vital have some regarded their favorite opinions that they have attached conditions to their benefactions and have done all they could to prevent any alienation to other purposes.

Educational institutions instil the principles of their sects so zealously that young Christians sometimes find it hard to recognise Christianity anywhere except as it wears the garb of the people among whom and by whom they were trained.

Great societies have large resources continually supplied to advance the views of the organisations which they represent.

Men have won distinction as defenders of this "ism" and of that, and are honored as champions. Books are published to teach babes how to be earnest sectarians.

In very plain words, sometimes it would almost seem that the attitude of religious bodies is "we must live, though religion die."

What is to become of all this denominational machinery when denominationalism ceases?

The very question may help cool the ardor of some who have thought of unity with favor. Possibly it may lead some to conclude that the obstacles are insuperable.

No, they are not insuperable. A reunited Church can utilise most of the appliances which have hitherto been used for sectarian ends. Some things it will have no use for. It can dispense with the controversialists, and all controversial literature. Just as some old smooth-bore guns that were once effective only when directed against people near at hand are converted into rifled guns with long range, so sectarian institutions can be made to do more efficient work against sin, the world, and the devil.

With half the population of this earth still unreached by the Gospel, there is enough to do to call up every available weapon, however clumsy it may be, and however much it may have been battered in a different contest.

Let no one believe that any interest, however strong it may be, however old, and however now entrenched, can stand in the way when a united Church needs it for aggressive work.

The very fact of having a united Church must answer the end of many an effort whose practical result has hitherto been to continue divisions.

Let us admit frankly that some efforts to uphold sectarianism have grown out of an honest conviction that only thus could the cause of CHRIST in its purity be maintained.

Men have believed, and men still believe, that the truth stands or falls with the triumph or the defeat of their denomination.

If, however, it can be shown, as no doubt it will in the good time coming, that whatever is really essential to Christianity in their system can be saved, then what need can there be for the continuance of their denominational lines ?

A reunited Church may be possible with diversities of usage, with the holding of favorite opinions, and with the advocacy of varying methods of working.

It will have its essential features to be held by all, but it will tolerate divergencies of view and many modes of operation.

What mighty forces will be liberated when it is no longer thought to be necessary to keep up our defences against our own brethren, and how rapidly the cause of CHRIST will advance when this distrust of each other gives place to united efforts to win the world for Him !

Here, then, are some of the obstacles to Christian Unity : ignorance of what is meant by it ; a notion that competition helps religion ; the expectation that one body may absorb all the others ; ignorance of the true position of the primitive Church ; the bidding for social prominence ; and the influence of present denominational interests.

That these obstacles will all be overcome and that there shall again be one Faith, one LORD, and one Baptism, as there is one GOD and Father of us all, is the hope and prayer of many in all parts of the world to-day.

Whether or not this reunion is to come in our day, who can say ?

There is no obstacle too great to prevent its coming at any time, in our day as well as in any later period.

It is not to be pressed off because we are unwilling to consider it now, but is rather to be welcomed as helping to test our sincerity as Christian believers who try to enter into the Master's anxiety when He prayed that all His followers should be one.

G. W. SHINN.

Contemporary Literature.

FICTION.

SEÑOR VALERA tells us, in his confidential preface to *Pepita Ximenez*,* how, setting out to teach the Spanish people the worth and beauty of the mysticism of the sixteenth and seventeenth century theologians, he found it convenient to put his notions into the mouth of a young theological student; and how then he perceived that he could say what he wished to say most effectively in the form of a novel. The usual result of this rear-end-foremost way of going about the writing of a novel does not follow with all the calamitous circumstance of failure to which we are wonted.

Pepita Ximenez is the story of a young postulant of the Romish Church who, while making a visit to his father just prior to taking the vows of the priesthood, falls in love with Pepita Ximenez, the beauty of the village in which the scene is laid, and its good angel. The struggle between the obligations of a lofty vocation and an earthly love is an exceedingly powerful motive — one of the most powerful spiritual motives, indeed, to which the novelist can turn for a subject. It is the elementary contest betwixt flesh and spirit reduced to its plainest terms. Señor Valera depicts it with just comprehension of the subtle process by which the hero's natural impulses disintegrate and conquer his life-purpose. The conditions of the writer's plan furnish him with the essentials of an idyl of intense human interest, and he has employed his materials with understanding of their value and with command of resource, — in fine, for the most part, with art. The story has two phases: the fight of Don Luis in secret against "the dethronement of his ideal," a conflict whose fruit is casuistry, and his fight against the same

* *Pepita Ximenez*. From the Spanish of JUAN VALERA. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

thing in the presence of his temptress, a conflict whose fruit is drama. Of the first phase there is too much, and one grows impatient of its obtrusion further than is needed to effect its purpose of giving constantly the fullest sense of what the struggle means to Don Luis, and of explaining the man himself to us; of the second phase there is scarce enough. If the author had not told us how he came to write this book, we should be at a loss to understand why a novelist should deliberately prefer casuistry to drama; and yet, on the whole, considering its genesis, the burden of the tale weighs less heavily on the telling of it than we should expect. We cannot commend the performance as wholly workmanlike, since it is unsymmetrical, but the forthright impetus of the story's movement, after it has freed itself from the cobwebs of its controversial purpose, has certainly the novelist's quality, rather than that of the polemic which Señor Valera writes himself down. The true power and beauty of the idyl — it is scarcely a novel — is brought home to us with a directness which, toward the end (grown jealous for the hurrying current of the story), carries only so much of the mystical burden as it must. *Pepita Ximenez* is indeed a beautiful and moving story, told with grace and having its being in a poetical and pictorial atmosphere. It is a pity to have marred such a story with the touch of grossness in the climax.

We have said that the outcome of the ill-conceived means by which *Pepita Ximenez* came into being is more fortunate than is usual in the case of novels built around a theory: this is because the Spanish author is enabled both by the power of his art and by that passion native to his race to hold the reader's interest fast to the heart of his passionate theme. But the means remain not the less mistaken, and if we had ever lacked proof of this *Pepita Ximenez* would furnish it — *Pepita* which, rich in a theme as fruitful and suggestive as novelist could wish, comes at times perilously near to being snuffed out of existence as a novel by the author's superior interest in his irrelevant purpose. If we could take it for itself, outside the movement of a work which must be judged as that of a novelist, we should find the writer's curious learning, with its wealth of biographical instance from the lives of the saints, martyrs, and holy fathers, possessed of a distinct interest. But in a novel we cannot care, and ought not to care, whether Señor Valera proves his controversial point or not; and certainly there is no reason why we

should concern ourselves about the way in which he does it or fails to do it. Señor Valera is interested in showing that if the school of thinkers founded by one Julián Sanz del Río may be properly accused of "mystical pantheism," the charge holds equally good of the theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, — which is very well as an aim, of course, but is clearly no affair of the novel-reader, who is interested in the love of Don Luis and Pepita, and in the former's struggle against it, together (emphatically) with any moral enlightenment to be derived from considering this situation in the company of, and by the light, of a superior mind. This last, indeed, we take to express in some degree, at once the meaning of novel-writing to this generation of novel-readers, the mighty good which it may do and is bound to do, and the justification for the serious consideration which the art of fiction receives in this day at the hands of all who concern themselves with the future of literature among us.

The historical background of *Constance of Acadia** is painted in with a zestful and patient hand; but the figures which the author projects against this background transact a flabby and ill-knit drama in the listless fashion to which the writers of historical novels have accustomed us. Since the good days of Sir Walter, it would seem, no novelist has known how to fuse history and romance in the impartial and adequate manner which alone can make the mingling of the two tolerable. There are worse-drawn characters than Constance, Charles La Tour, and Charnacé; but outside a historical novel, persons whose fortunes so little touch the reader are uncommon. The author is more concerned for truth of historical detail than for truth of character, and is more anxious that the reader be accurately informed about the size of a fort, the date of a battle, or the chapter and verse for Governor Winthrop's Biblical instances, than he is to strike a passionate meaning from the flint and steel of the relation betwixt Constance and Charnacé. The struggle of each toward the other — vacillating and inconsequent, but still a struggle — is the theme of the story; but the author carefully keeps the two apart, and they are never furnished with an opportunity to express for us, through personal intercourse, a sense of the situation between them. Charnacé indulges in

* *Constance of Acadia*. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

reflections about Constance which, in number and variety, would be a credit to an analytical novelist; but the writer restrains him from translating one of them into action. The plot is not ill-conceived; but it is offered the reader in segments, during the lulls in a fusilade of history which pauses only to make sure of its aim through elaborate foot-notes. The desirability of rendering the atmosphere of the time in which the action of a novel goes on is not to be denied; but we do not know why we should have more patience with a perversion of the novel to the use of sugar-coating history than with any other of the disrespectful employments of that serious, high, and weighty form of literature. The novelist's business is with human passions; he may dramatise their contests in a forest or a castle, or on a moor,—they may have affected persons whose living and loving were done in the second century, or the fifteenth, or the nineteenth: but the passions are his main concern, not the forest, nor the century. The themes which were old in Babylon and are yet new in New York can never lose their hold upon the heart of man; but New York is not the point, nor Babylon, but the passions to which they are incidents.

Constance is in love with Charnacé when she marries Charles La Tour. She goes out with him late in the sixteenth century to Acadia, as a Huguenot missionary. She is a fine spirit, of heroic mould, largely capable, and quite equal to the difficulties of her life in a foreign land. Her spiritual-mindedness is in strong contrast to the coarse, worldly fibre of her husband's character. He is a shrewd and grasping business man, with an eye single to the increase of his power and wealth in the new colony. Constance, though dutifully supporting her husband with her strong and practical hand, keeps her best energies for the amelioration of the condition of the native Indians, and for their education and enlightenment; and her busy missionary endeavors are very well pictured. The reader's interest is solicited for her unceasing attempt to reconcile herself to her life with her sordid and unsympathetic husband, and her strivings to forget her young love for Charnacé, a Jesuit missionary, whom she had known as a child at her home in France. Constance had refused to marry him because of the difference in their faith, and had joined herself to La Tour because a marriage with him seemed likely to forward her missionary ambition. Charnacé comes to Acadia upon an expedition in the

Jesuit interest, and discovers that Constance is there. The reader expects that Constance and Charnacé will at least meet; but they do nothing of the sort. They meditate about each other, while the story of their several enterprises goes on unchecked by anything of so little moment to a novel as an occasional conversation between the hero and heroine.

It must be confessed that Charnacé's meditations are always entertaining, for he never allows himself the lazy luxury of thinking the same thought twice. At nine o'clock he arranges for the arrest and execution of Constance's husband as a traitor, that he may renounce his preparatory vows and marry Constance; at five minutes past nine he determines to include Constance in the warrant also, as a Huguenot missionary, dangerous to the cause of his master, Loyola. He lays him down to rest enamored of the family life of Luther, and wakes in the morning to consecrate himself to a life of celibacy. One day he determines, after disposing of preliminary obstacles in a fashion which seems to come easy to him, to convert Constance to his own faith, that he may marry her; the next day he finds it a presumption that he should make the form of her religion an obstacle, or, indeed, that he should set himself up in any way as judge of a faith which, after all, is no doubt better than his, since it has produced Constance; and so he decides to permit her to convert him. All this is, as we have said, entertaining enough, but it is a trifle absurd as well. Our interest in the man goes with our early loss of respect for him, and our curiosity as to the next sophistry which he will invent begins to lag when we find that he, in fact, never does anything. A novel whose historical background is always lively and pictorial, but whose people never touch each other closely enough to stir the plot into motion, may be successful as history. As a novel it is a failure.

We have sometimes been tempted to think Miss Jewett's work a trifle overrated; but we hold no such opinion immediately after reading anything fresh from her pen. The delicacy and elusive fragrance of writing like the sketch which gives the title to her latest volume* cannot well be too highly praised, and leaves criticism with no mind to pick flaws in its

* *A White Heron, and Other Stories.* By SARAH ORNE JEWETT. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

satisfaction with it. Miss Jewett is so simple and straightforward, and has such small gossip to tell, that one is apt to question with one's self, in the midst of a "story," whether so much talk is worth while about so little. But if one will have patience with her, the writer justifies herself. If it were only by the sense of peace which steals over one as he follows the untroubled course of her tales, the reader must know that there is a strange and magic force somewhere at work here. Not a heating, alarming, or vexing incident befalls any one in the length of this volume; it is serious life enough which is pictured, but quiet life. And Miss Jewett's charm is that she sees this life as it is, and presents it in its every-day homespun, without a literary frill or furbelow; and that she brings the same honest vision to the study of nature, and presents its inmost meanings with a like truth. Her style is the pattern of colorless beauty which the rhetoricians tirelessly hold up to students as the model of propriety, yet is not insipid, and often it is filled with warmth, as when she gives the feeling of an afternoon in a sentence. For some moods, Miss Jewett's work is undeniably tame; but for others — and if on no other account, we should be grateful that we are blessed with various moods — it is a pure delight.

BOOKS FOR THE YOUNG.

It is hard to find words high enough in which to commend Mrs. Burnett's charming *Little Lord Fauntleroy*.* It is only a child's tale, but it is not the less genuine literature, and so worthy of any one's attention. The children have already added the book to their classics, and raised Mrs. Burnett to a place in their young esteem beside Miss Alcott, Mrs. Mary Mapes Dodge, Miss Yonge, Mrs. Lillie, Mrs. Ewing, and the rest of the honorable company. Their elders cannot do better than make acquaintance with the work. We cannot think the faculty of writing successfully for children a light talent, and it is matter for congratulation that the best modern authors do not regard it as unworthy of their art to minister to the pleasure of the young. Surely no literature can be too good which addresses itself to the sensitive minds of those whose character

* *Little Lord Fauntleroy*. By FRANCES HODGSON BURNETT. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons.

is forming ; and we are glad of every work which, like this of Mrs. Burnett's, pushes the standard higher.

The idea at the basis of the story of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* is in itself capital, and in its outlines imply an interesting and successful tale. To carry an American child, who has made grocerymen and boot-blacks his associates, to aristocratic England, and make him heir-apparent to an earldom ; to bring his simple little democratic notions into contrast with those of his grandfather, the Earl ; to transmute plain Cedric Errol into Lord Fauntleroy, and bring him from a New York down-town side street to an English castle, was an extraordinarily happy thought. It takes the imagination, and Mrs. Burnett has used her germ idea so fruitfully as to make the synopsis of it, suggestive as it is, seem very bare. The source of the general liking for the book and of the popularity it has enjoyed during its publication in serial form is, we think, the thoroughly good feeling at the bottom of it. It is easy to call the story well-plotted and well-written, but that does not explain why it sometimes clutches us at the throat and expresses the moisture from our eyes before we are aware. In truth, it touches in the simplest and directest fashion the main chords of human feeling ; it is dignified by an atmosphere of honest sentiment which a fine reserve rescues from the natural and almost inevitable fall into sentimentality.

We suppose, if the truth must be told, his young lordship is too fine a fellow to have been a real boy, and we are inclined to hope that behind the scenes in which Mrs. Burnett has chosen to show us this manly, frank, sweet-tempered peer in embryo he indulges a small naughtiness or two, if only that he may be the friend, on something like equal grounds, of the very recognisable human boys and girls who will make his acquaintance through his biographer. We do not know any reason why he should not be as charmingly unselfish as he is, however, nor why he should not be brave and simple-minded, thinking no evil ; and as these are the essentials of his character and make the point of the book, we need not question his other perfections, especially since Mrs. Burnett has the art of flattering us to belief in their reasonableness while we read of them. His conquest of his surly and ill-favored grandfather, the Earl, by means of his innocent attribution of all the virtues to him, is admirably conceived and carried out with touching truth ; and

it is not only his grandfather who is the better for the knowledge of Lord Fauntleroy's generous young heart. He carries love and sunshine with him, and every one who knows him is the happier for his living. By the subtlest and least didactic means Mrs. Burnett implies this as the inmost meaning of her story: that this fruit of character is the chiefest good of life for every one of us. "It was really a very simple thing, after all," she says — "it was only that he had lived near a kind and gentle heart" (that of his mother, who is scarcely less well done than little Lord Fauntleroy himself), "and had been taught to think kind thoughts always, and to care for others. It is a very little thing, perhaps, but it is the best thing of all. He knew nothing of earls or castles; he was quite ignorant of all grand and splendid things; but he was always lovable because he was simple and loving. To be so is like being born a king."

BIOGRAPHY.

H. D. Traill has accomplished a task of very considerable difficulty in writing a fair-minded life of Shaftesbury,* the first of the English Earls. The biographers who have gone before him have either assailed their subject with unmeasured reproach, or striven to deck him out with virtues in which Shaftesbury would scarce have known himself. Dryden, in "Absalom and Achitopel" and in "The Medal," imposed a portrait of the Earl on the mind of posterity which remains the commonly received impression of him, as brilliantly one-sided portraits often do. Dryden's lines are etched deep with the caustic wit which he knew the trick of so well, when it was to be used against the enemies of his patron, the King. Unfortunately, Shaftesbury was but too vulnerable; though it is now certain that we must make even more than the natural allowance for the poet's ardor for the royal cause, and for the artistic rounding of a satirist's point, if we would get at the truth concerning a statesman, none too good, at best, it is true, but in some matters far in advance of his time. He was, in truth, we learn from Mr. Traill's unprejudiced account, the most sagacious, adroit, and daring party leader that England had known up to his day; with him the system of government by party in Great Britain may fairly be said to have had its origin. If for no other rea-

* *Shaftesbury; the First Earl.* (English Worthies Series. Edited by ANDREW LANG.) By H. D. TRAILL. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

son, therefore, he is an extremely interesting figure in English history ; but that which chiefly engages us in this biography is the character of the man himself, rather than what it effected for his country. On this side the writer is full, painstaking, and sure ; what is better, he is convincing. He sifts the evidence in a judicial spirit before the reader and draws his conclusions with a logic to which we do not find occasion to dissent. He is refreshingly lacking in a theory to prove, unless it be a theory to conceive, that by holding a middle course the biographer of Shaftesbury is likely to sail closest to the truth. He sets forth the regards in which he has been maligned and with equal candor those in which too generous writers have sought to whitewash his faults ; and, guided by the light of facts alone, has told the straightforward story of this remarkable man's life. This is only to say that he has done his work in the best method of modern biographical writing.

Mr. Traill interests us in his subject, but he leaves us with an admiration for Shaftesbury's brilliant parts almost wholly unsupported by respect for his character. The Earl did by turns what suited his purposes, and was accustomed to ask regarding his numerous changes of allegiance, not whether they were right or serviceable to the people, but whether he could further his personal ambition through them or help the party with which he chanced at the moment to have cast in his fortunes. He was able, through his remarkable talents, to have his way for the most part, during his life, — although he died a fugitive, in exile ; but he was forced to barter principle a thousand times in the course of the pursuit of his purpose. He was, we must do him the justice to remember, no worse than many other politicians of his time, and the contumely which his contemporaries chose him for the subject of was in a degree only the tribute which successful men pay to the envious for success ; but history cannot blot out the memory of Shaftesbury's unscrupulousness by setting it over against the conscienceless craft of his fellows ; for the first Earl was greatly the superior mentally of the men who were morally as bad as he : he sinned against light. He was, under Heaven, a powerful means toward freeing the English people from the miseries of a monarchy clothed with excessive powers, and we should be forced to applaud his contest with the King if we were not obliged to perceive that some ambition of Shaftesbury's usually lurks somewhere in the rear of that Palladium of English liberty to which he professes

so constant a devotion. But we cannot do better than to transcribe Mr. Traill's admirable summary of his character :—

That Shaftesbury was, even for an age like the Restoration, the portent of political wickedness which Dryden represents him, appears to me a proposition incapable of being seriously defended. That he was the sincere, unselfish, high-minded patriot which Mr. Christie goes near to making him out, seems an equally, if not a more, preposterous perversion of the facts. That he held very strong and distinct, and sometimes very admirable views on political and religious matters, I do not question ; but that he acted upon them with any consistency, that he defended them with any steadfastness, that, above all, he was ever willing to make the slightest sacrifice for them, I can find no evidence whatever. All his repeated changes of party find their simplest explanation on a theory of pure self-interest, and some of them are explicable in no other way. He quits the Royal for the Parliamentary cause and his apologists allege that, like other distinguished men who accompanied him over, he has for the first time perceived the danger to which liberty and Protestantism were exposed under Charles I. It may be so ; but unluckily he has also just been removed from a military command and has seen the door of his ambition closed to him. He attempts for a time to serve under Cromwell, and only joins the Protector's opponents, say his apologists, because he objected to the predominance of the military element in his councils. Perhaps, but the predominance of the military element meant the effacement of the civilian interest, through which alone it was possible for him to rise. Again he quitted his Republican associates in 1660, and threw in his lot with Monk, no doubt, as his defenders maintain, because he saw that the country was ripe for a Restoration. But to be the foremost in bringing about a Restoration meant ennoblement and official promotion, and did in fact earn him his peerage and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. He turned his back in 1673 on the policy of the Cabal, and threw himself with ardor into the cause of civil and religious liberty ; and it is true that at the moment when he did so, the mischief and folly of that policy had become as patent as its iniquity. But then so had its popularity also. His associates were not only exposed criminals ; they were criminals for whom the day of reckoning was drawing near. It is, to say the least of it, an extraordinary coincidence that the demerits of a cause should never have been brought home to Shaftesbury except in company with the discovery that it opened to him no avenue of advancement ; and that his eye should always have remained closed to the wickedness of counsels until their authors were on the verge of ruin.

HISTORY.

We have, perhaps, more profound histories of the United States than that which Thomas Wentworth Higginson has put forth under the title of *A Larger History of the United States of America*;* but we do not recall a more interesting one, unless it be Mr. McMaster's. Like Mr. McMaster's, this is nothing if not a history of the people, and like it, too, it is eminently picturesque; it is, however, more concise and paints the events of our national life more broadly. Mr. Higginson's quick but comprehensive touch makes his story readable, whatever else it is not, and the writer supports and enriches the skeleton of his narrative with an abundance of the kind of detail which the novelist employs to give vividness to our conception of his characters. The tendency of the later historical method toward inquiry into the every-day ways of the people of the past — who, after all, did not always make history in soldier's uniform, but often enough in every-day clothing and under every-day conditions — is extremely sensible and reasonable, however shocking it may be to the traditions of those who are still unable to believe that the historian can occasionally do without his splendid port, his majestic movement, and the rest of the imposing paraphernalia with which he has been accustomed to set his stage.

The present volume is upon something the same general plan as Mr. Higginson's *Young Folks' History of the United States*; but this *Larger History* is by no means a mere amplification of the earlier work. The writer has "waited long enough," he truthfully says, "to make sure of a wholly fresh treatment." He is not of those who think lightly of the interest of the history of this country; and his imagination seems to have found no more difficulty in dealing pictorially with events which occurred at Washington and Philadelphia than it might have in making pictures for itself of incidents occurring in the same years at London or Paris. We say this with all respect to the American system of education, which knows well enough what to think of American history, for perhaps the picturesqueness is in Mr. Higginson's fancy and not in the events, and the system is right in thinking our native history not worth while.

* *A Larger History of the United States of America* to the close of President Jackson's administration. Illustrated. BY THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. New York: Harper & Brothers.

And yet, picturesque or not, the events happened to grandfathers and great-grandfathers of those who are being put to study anxiously about the grandfathers and great-grandfathers of English and French boys and girls ; and we trust we may some time come to believe the local and native grandfather worthy almost as large a share of our study and interest as if he had had the good fortune to be some one's else grandfather. Mr. Higginson's historical essay for children has been happy enough, we believe, to help forward, in its degree, the coming of this desirable day ; this later work, by winning its readers to respect for the history of their native land, may do more in the same direction, and perhaps, — for the workings of these things are strange and marvellous, — perhaps the idea may even in course of time percolate down far enough to reach, here and there, a Board of Education.

The publishers of the *Larger History* have done much for it in furnishing it with a most admirable series of illustrations.

THEOLOGY.

The original status of the human race, whether but little removed from that of the brute beasts, having the mere germs of intelligence and destitute of any sense of moral responsibility, or whether but "little lower than the angels," the spiritual beings who discharge the functions of their existence in the very presence of God, is a question that at the present time is largely occupying the attention of psychologists. On the one hand, Christians maintain, on the direct authority of the Gospel genealogy, that men, or at least the chosen seed, are the sons "of Adam, which was the son of God." The atheists and rationalists, on the other hand, assert that the origin of man is from beneath and not from above, that even the lowest and most savage races, though they may be inferior to some of their more immediate ancestors, do not properly constitute examples of degradation inasmuch as they are an improvement upon the first remote originators of human kind. While there is a third class, theists, at least, if not Christians, who hold an intermediate position. They acknowledge God to be the Creator of all things animate and inanimate, of the human race as well as other sentient beings ; but this creation has been through an endless succession of organised existences developed one from another,

this development being dependent either upon an original law impressed upon matter by the direct exertion of GOD's almighty power once for all, or upon the uninterrupted oversight and direction of GOD's providence constantly at work. Such a theory, they think, agrees best with the declaration in *Genesis*, "The LORD GOD formed man of the dust of the ground."

To sustain a doctrine of this kind they must show that the earliest state of man was that of the rudest savage, and that he gradually attained ideas of morality and religion, working out these results for himself through the combined operation of experience and reflection; to which the Christian would add, under the direction and leading of GOD'S SPIRIT while the Agnostic would say, we have no proof of anything, or any being, cooperating in this development, and must therefore attribute it solely to the existence of a universal law of development, which prevails in matters that concern morality and religion as well as in physical organisation.

In this class of thinkers we must, perhaps, place Herbert Spencer, who for some years has been issuing publications on the Principles of Sociology, the most recent of which is on the topic of *Ecclesiastical Institutions*.*

Mr. Herbert Spencer and those who think with him appeal to facts to sustain their fundamental position that man's original state was at the lowest point in intelligence and morality of which we can conceive, and yet distinguish him from the brutes, and that he was entirely destitute of religion. These facts are simply the intelligence, character, and ideas exhibited in savage and barbarous tribes of the present day.

Allowing that the so-called facts are correctly reported and correctly interpreted, in what way do they indicate the character of the human race at the beginning, especially if that time is placed at so remote a period as the theory of development demands? History does not tell us of a single nation or tribe that has advanced in civilisation by its own internal and unaided efforts; but it furnishes many instances of highly civilised people degenerating into a semi-barbarous condition. The various races of Europe were but little above savages until the introduction of Roman civilisation. Rome was indebted for her culture to Greece, and Greece in turn to Phœnicia and Egypt;

* *Ecclesiastical Institutions*, being Part VI. of the Principles of Sociology, by HERBERT SPENCER. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1886.

while the civilisation of Egypt extends undiminished beyond the limits of historical records, until all trace of it is lost amid the hoary mists of antiquity. History also shows us that it is the tendency of savage nations, as of all degenerate organisations in nature, to perish, and not to perpetuate themselves for untold millions of years, as they must have done if the present savage races are the true representatives of the original man. This fundamental assumption of Herbert Spencer, upon which his whole theory is built up, is not merely gratuitous, but in the very face of historical testimony as to the progress and decay of civilisation.

Beside this fundamental, unwarranted assumption, the so-called facts have been collected in such a way as to militate strongly against an absolute dependence upon them to present a full and undistorted picture of the savage mind as regards morals and religion. "Five hundred and odd works" have been searched, not by Mr. Spencer, but by various persons employed by him to cull short sentences which might appear to sustain certain propositions for which he wanted proof. Mr. Spencer seems himself to be aware that such a course needs some apology, and, after informing the public of his ill health, adds: "Even with unshaken health it would have been impossible for me to read the five hundred and odd works from which the materials for the *Principles of Sociology* have been extracted." It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Spencer that one who has not the health and the physical ability to prepare himself personally and fully for the work he is undertaking should leave the task to another who has the requisite qualification.

Quotations culled for a purpose from a large number of books (the larger the number, the easier it is to find what is wanted) can hardly fail to give a one-sided, if not entirely erroneous, idea of savage thought. The view which a traveller really entertains of the character of any people whom he visits cannot be ascertained from single expressions, here and there, but must be learned from an attentive perusal of all that he says; yet not only Mr. Spencer has never read the books from which quotations were furnished, but those also who culled the extracts did not think it necessary to read even the context of their selections, as Mr. Spencer, who was brought to task for misquotations in his first edition, confesses: "Unfortunately, when giving instructions for the verification of extracts, I did not point

cut the need for a study of the context in every case." The result of such neglect was that one gentleman "misunderstood a story translated from the hieroglyphics;" and in another case, "an extract concerning the Zulus had been broken off too soon, the copyist not having, as it seems, perceived that a subsequent sentence greatly qualified the sense." How little collectors of quotations are to be depended upon is further seen from the fact that even those employed, after Mr. Spencer's book was in type, and before an edition was printed off, to verify the quotations did not think it necessary to do more than see if the sentences had been correctly copied, not whether they really expressed the intention of the author, so that these also failed to read the context. If all the "five hundred and odd books" had been carefully read by Mr. Spencer himself, who can tell how many more of the "two thousand statements quoted" would have been "invalidated," "losing their point," and have been necessarily "cancelled"?

Even many of the quotations, as given, are on their very face irrelevant or assert the contrary. As "proofs that among various savages religious ideas do not exist," we have the following: "The Dor do not have religious conceptions, *properly so called*, but they believe in spirits;" "all religion, *in our sense of the word religion*, is quite unknown to the Bongo." That is, they have a degraded form of religion. Again, a long conversation between Sir Samuel Baker and a Latooki chief is quoted, in which the "savage" chief proves himself a far keener dialectician than the "enlightened" Englishman, and certainly has the best of the argument in denying the possibility of the resurrection. But what bearing has this upon the belief or disbelief of the Nile tribes in supernatural beings to whom worship is due? Mr. Spencer need not have gone so far as the Upper Nile, nor to a savage chief for denial of a future life and of all that is supernatural. There are infidels in England who would assert just as stoutly that they "believe in nothing; neither in a good or evil spirit," that "there is no distinction between man and beast; both disappear and end at death." Would this, however, prove that the English people have no religious ideas at all?

In further corroboration of the original destitution of religious ideas in man, Mr. Spencer appeals to recorded statements concerning those born deaf and dumb: "It has not been found in a single instance that an uneducated deaf mute has had any con-

ception of the existence of a Supreme Being as the Creator and Ruler of the Universe." From this fact the implication is drawn "that civilised men have no innate tendency to form religious ideas." We are ready at once to grant the fact, for it is but a particular application of a general truth which S. Paul long since proclaimed. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, for they are spiritually discerned." In the implication also, if by "tendency" is meant, as it would seem, a necessarily acting law which of itself works out religious ideas in the human mind, we concur most heartily. Mr. Spencer does not appear to perceive how completely this assertion destroys the whole substance of his argument. If "civilised men have no innate tendency to form religious ideas," how came they ever to gain them? It is easy to say they have been taught by their ancestors; but this is no answer, it only transfers the question to a more remote period. How did the first man who had a religious idea get it? The need of answering this question has been acknowledged, and some, among them even Mr. Spencer himself, have replied that the germ of religious ideas arose out of dreams originating the conception of "another self," a spiritual existence independent of the body. But how could such a train of thought have passed through the mind unless there were an innate tendency to form supernatural and religious ideas? Are we to suppose that deaf mutes never dream? We know the contrary, and there are many interesting accounts showing how completely their dreams are limited to those things only of which those organs which they possess give them an impression. Are we to suppose that deaf mutes, children of civilised parents, are incapable of gaining from dreams those spiritual conceptions which savages have attained? If there is no innate tendency to form religious ideas, it is impossible that there should be any natural growth of spiritual conceptions and of ecclesiastical institutions. If religious ideas do not exist in a man until he is taught them, he receives them from an external source. They are a revelation to him from a superior being having greater knowledge and a higher range of thought. The only possible alternative is either "an innate tendency to form religious ideas," and to develop them, or else an external revelation of those ideas, the highest, and most influential in determining the character of men. Mr. Spencer denies the former, and yet

his whole reasoning from the beginning to the end of his book is based upon the assumption of its truth.

Similar fallacious arguments and irrelevant quotations are characteristic of the entire volume. We have not space to exhibit them in detail, nor is it necessary. If a house is built upon a quicksand there is no need to pull it down; it falls of itself. The subject of the volume, *The Origin and Growth of Ecclesiastical Institutions*, is a matter of great importance, and deserves a more careful and accurate investigation. Even from a rationalistic point of view a much better argument might have been made, and perhaps Mr. Spencer himself, when in the full vigor of health and mental activity, would have written a more logical treatise.

There appears to be a growing desire among Christians, of our own land at least, for a greater degree of union than that which is content simply with good wishes and charitable constructions. Of this feeling we have an indication in the *Memo-rial to the General Convention* on the Reunion of Christendom, to which a large number of signatures, clerical and lay, have been attached. Not a few of those who by birth and education outside of the "Protestant Episcopal Church" have acknowledged that the doctrine, discipline, and worship of that Church constitute the most available basis for such a reunion, provided it can be accomplished without throwing a stigma of reproach upon those, both in the present and in the past, whom they hold dear, and who, they are sure, were actuated by a true Christian faith and love. The difficulty in overcoming this dread of casting a reproach is largely caused by ignorance of the true character and position of the Church. In part to meet this difficulty, and also to instruct Churchmen, of whom the Archbishop of Canterbury recently declared "that not one in ten is as well instructed in the reason why he is a Churchman, as dissenters or Roman Catholics are instructed in the arguments whereby their position is defended," there has been recently published a volume entitled, *Reasons for being a Churchman*.* In this the author had two objects in view: "First, to strengthen those who are already in actual conformity with the Anglo-Catholic Church;" and sec-

* *Reasons for being a Churchman*, addressed to English-speaking Christians of every name. By the Rev. ARTHUR WILDE LITTLE, M. A. Milwaukee, Wis.: Young Churchman Co. 1886.

only, "to call the attention of our non-conforming brethren — Roman and Protestant alike — to the historic continuity, the divine authority, the lawful jurisdiction, the true catholicity, and the practical advantages of the venerable Church of *their* ancestors and *ours*, the Mother-Church of the English-speaking race."

The book is a very complete summary of the various arguments and proofs that have appeared in other works on the same subject during the last forty years. They have, however, been put in an unusually compact form, and yet no other single book is so full in defence of the Anglo-Catholic position as against both ultra Protestants and Roman Catholics. The author's style is interesting, marked by clear statements and vivid pictures. Guizot's assertion, "Christianity came into the world as an *idea to be developed*," is neatly turned into the statement of a real truth substantiated by history. The Christian Faith "was given to develop men, not to be developed by men." The absurdity of multiplied "churches," and an "invisible" bond of union, is illustrated by the parable of the miraculous draught of fishes. It "implies that the net may break and some of the fishes slip out through the breach; but not that the great net should be made over into little hand nets, or that the fish who swim back into the sea are still in the net, or surrounded forsooth by an invisible net."

The author sets forth in a very vivid and picturesque manner the utter incongruity of both Romanism and Protestantism with the Apostolic Church. "Fancy S. Peter, who had just missed being expelled from the ministry, when the LORD said to him: 'Get thee behind me, Satan,' who had fallen lower than any of his brethren by his threefold denial of Christ. . . . Fancy him sitting on the altar table of that upper room, the infant Cathedral of Jerusalem, putting a crown on his head and saying, *I am the Infallible Head of the Church*." Equally incongruous is the Protestant Bibliolatry and denunciation of an Apostolic Creed. "One says: I don't want a creed imposed by Apostolic authority. Away with it! The Bible, and the Bible alone, is my religion. Give me the New Testament. But lo! S. Matthew rises and says, I am the author of the first Gospel, but I shall not begin to write it for twenty years." "Meanwhile, what is the Church to do? Why, the LORD has directed us to *teach you* to observe *all* things whatsoever He has commanded us."

After a full discussion of the subject under the threefold aspect of the continuity of doctrine, of fellowship, and of worship, the author adds two short chapters; one on the argument from expediency, in which he quotes some striking tributes to the excellency of the Church's ways, uttered by sectarian divines, and the second and final chapter on the argument from futurity. Protestantism is going through an ordeal that will deprive it of its Bible, if the authority of the Church be not accepted: while Rome, which has already added various false and even absurd doctrines to the Faith, will in all probability be led on to assert still more extravagant and foolish dogmas.

This volume, which has already reached its third edition, will no doubt prove useful in promoting both the objects for which it was written.

The phenomena of nature lend themselves in a remarkable manner to the illustration and enforcement of Divine truth. The two become so closely associated in the mind that the contemplation of the former inevitably fills the soul with heavenly thoughts and with a sense of the presence and majesty of God.

Among these phenomena, that which perhaps exerts a wider influence and serves to unfold and adorn a more varied range of spiritual idea is the first creation of God, light, and its separation from the correlative phenomena of darkness. Both of these phenomena are largely used in the Bible to convey spiritual instruction, and in the Scripture narratives both night and day are replete with actions and words intimately connected with the redemption and regeneration of men.

Bishop Lee, in his *Eventful Nights in Bible History*,* has collected and commented on a number of the striking incidents of the Bible that occurred at night. In so doing he has brought out many interesting thoughts in connection with the history of redemption as exhibited among the ancient Israelites and the later disciples of our Saviour.

Altogether there are fifteen separate incidents recorded in the Old Testament, and seventeen in the New, of which the Bishop makes use to set forth the nature of God's providences under the Jewish dispensation, and the Christian teachings and consolations of the Gospel.

* *Eventful Nights in Bible History*. By ALFRED LEE, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Delaware. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1886.

The first of these eventful nights is that in which God "brought Abram forth abroad and said, Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars if thou art able to number them; and He said unto him, So shall thy seed be;" and the last is that long night of death and the grave at whose termination shall be ushered in the glorious kingdom, seen in the vision of S. John in the Island of Patmos, in which kingdom there shall be no night. A brief quotation or two will illustrate the character of this volume, the judicious treatment of the various topics, and the simple, yet earnest style of the author.

Of the appearance of the Witch of Endor to Saul, he says: "While there is so much to warrant the conclusion that it was Samuel himself who appeared, and gave his warning to the king, we are not to attribute his return to the acts of the sorceress, or to imagine that incantations of witchcraft have power to reach the spirits of the righteous, or that hell can evoke a saint from his holy rest. The apparition was evidently a surprise to the woman herself. Whatever she attempted or expected, she was certainly unprepared for what took place." "What a picture that night scene at Endor! The dimly lighted hut, the cowering and affrighted sorceress, the majestic spectre confronting the king with such an aspect of sad severity and pity, the monarch prostrate on the ground, the dialogue between the living and the dead; here are combined in surpassing degree, the most appalling and pathetic elements."

From the events of the New Testament narratives we select that of the Midnight Cry of the parable of the Coming Bridegroom.

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needed! What misery to find the vessel empty from which it should be supplied! Of what use the dark and lustreless light when light is needed at this very moment? And how vain, then, applications to creatures for help! The foolish call upon the wise. But the wise have nothing to spare. The righteous are scarcely saved. They have no superfluous merit to impart."

The book is one in which the devout reader will find much that is interesting and instructive.

An exceedingly interesting and useful manual is presented to the Biblical student in *The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*.* The meaning of its title is not at once apparent; but an examination of the work will show that the selection is a happy one — within its pages we find something more than a *Harmony*.

Many theories have been advanced to account for the combined agreements and variations of the different records of the Evangelists, and in this book an attempt is made to show at *sight*, that the three Gospels commonly called *Synoptic* were derived, each entirely independently of the others, from a common tradition, universal throughout the Church and preceding their own compilation. This is done by putting in heavy-faced type all those expressions that are identical in the three records, the corresponding passages being placed, as in the other Harmonies, in parallel columns. A continuous reading of these passages, omitting the balance in small type, reveals the fact that a connected narrative, including all important facts, forms a *Common Tradition*, running throughout the Synoptic Gospels, upon which each was evidently based. The introductory chapters by Dr. Abbott are very instructive, and the entire work will be read with interest and profit.

* *The Common Tradition of the Four Gospels*, in the Text of the Revised Version. By EDWIN A. ABBOTT, D. D., and W. G. RUSHBROOKE, M. L. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

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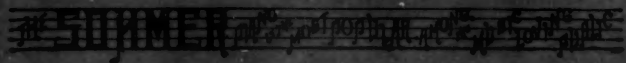
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